

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1357263-000

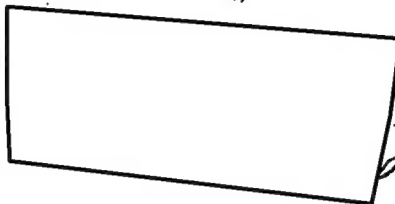
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COPIES FOR

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1 - Mr. Cotter

Legat, Ottawa

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REC 26/00-  
Director, FBI

447935-

SI-106

INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES  
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

~~SECRET~~ August 9, 1967  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AM  
AD  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE  
Class  
1-21-80  
10/5/77

Reurlet 7/24/67, with enclosures, single copies  
enclosed for London, Seattle and Washington Field.

Bufiles contain no pertinent information concerning  
Institute of Policy Studies.

Regarding Raskin, Bufiles show that "The Daily  
Cardinal," a student newspaper at the University of Wisconsin  
in issue of 4/3/65 reported a rally had been held on 4/2/65  
which climaxed a week-long protest organized by the so-called  
"Faculty Student Committee to End the War in Vietnam."  
According to the article, featured speaker at the rally  
was Mark Raskin, co-director of the National Institute for  
Policy Studies in Washington. Reportedly, Raskin urged  
a cease-fire in Vietnam, the formation of an international  
police force of Southeast Asian nations to keep the peace  
in Vietnam, compensation of Cambodia by the U.S. for the  
attacks on its villages, and trade between North and  
South Vietnam. Raskin was quoted as stating that President  
Johnson did not really know what to do in South Vietnam  
because his advisors did not know what was going on. (100-443080-49)

Regarding [redacted] Bufiles show that as of September,  
1962, [redacted] was employed by the Peace Research  
Institute, 1329 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., as a  
[redacted] Credit records at Washington  
indicated that [redacted] was a former employee in the office of  
Congressman [redacted] of [redacted] from 1959 to 1961  
and he reportedly had previously been employed by [redacted]  
[redacted] for five years. [redacted] had written several books  
dealing with U.S. defense policy, disarmament and world politics

- 1 - London (Encs. 3)
- 53 - Seattle (Encs. 3)
- 1 - Washington Field (Encs. 3)
- 1 - [redacted]

1 Foreign Liaison Unit (route thru for  
RDC:mea (9), MAIL ROOM

see note, page 2  
CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8/9/2007  
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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 8/2/77

AUG 9 1967  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

UNRECORDED COPY FILED



Letter to Ottawa

RE: INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES

~~SECRET~~

Foregoing data may be disseminated [ ]  
[ ] provided information  
is not attributed to FBI. ~~(U)~~

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You should advise [ ] that the Bureau has no  
additional information concerning this matter or any  
information regarding the purpose behind the alleged  
news leak in question. ~~(U)~~

b7D

It is noted that information provided by [ ]  
concerning this matter would appear to be of interest to  
various U.S. agencies, specifically to the Defense Department.  
You should promptly contact [ ] in an effort to obtain  
clearance for dissemination of the data to Defense Department,  
State, and [ ] and if deemed advisable to the White House.  
If [ ] does not desire dissemination of the data in its  
present form, you should suggest that they consider  
paraphrasing it to further protect their sensitive source. ~~(U)~~

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It is noted that [ ] refers to  
passage of the information to [ ] further  
identify this individual. ~~(U)~~

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Handle promptly. (//)

NOTE:

[ ] has furnished information from sensitive source  
concerning an alleged leak of information by unidentified  
Defense Department representative concerning U.S. plans to  
invade North Vietnam in June, 1967. Reportedly various  
individuals in the peace movement are seeking to capitalize  
on this news leak and [ ] requested available information  
concerning certain of the individuals involved. ~~(U)~~

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Date: 7/24/67

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile : )

Attention : \_\_\_\_\_

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

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~~SECRET~~

Title  INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES	Character INTERNAL SECURITY (SUBVERSIVE CONTROL)
	Reference  No prior correspondence.

Enclosed are the following communications received from \_\_\_\_\_

Four copies of \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

Note paragraph 1 re dissemination of information.

\_\_\_\_\_ has been the subject of prior correspondence, the last being my airtel 6/26/67 \_\_\_\_\_ Ottawa file 100-1259, Bufile not known. (U)

Information re \_\_\_\_\_ was furnished the Bureau by my routing slip dated 2/6/67 \_\_\_\_\_ under caption "STUDENT UNION FOR PEACE ACTION. IS-CANADA, Bufile 100-332195. 443

ROBERT REGULY was the subject of Ottawa file \_\_\_\_\_ captioned "ROBERT REGULY, REPORTER, TORONTO STAR," Bufile not known, Seattle OO, their file captioned "SEATTLE TELEPHONE NUMBER MAIN 2-0460."

Dissemination

- ☐ May be made as received  
☐ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure  
☐ May not be made without further clearance

Classified by \_\_\_\_\_  
Exempt from GDS, Category \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures: BY \_\_\_\_\_

Legat, London  
Seattle

Status with this office:

- ☐ RUC  
☒ Pending

- 5 - Bureau (Encl 8)  
1 - Each office above  
1 - Ottawa  
MLI/vmm  
(6)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF THIS  
DATE 12/14/77

CLASS. & EXT. 1-2.4.6 REASON-FCIM 11-2.4.6 DATE OF REVIEW 7/24/2007	100-447935-1	MCT 191
NT JUL 28 1967		REC
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE		ST-106

EXP. PROC.

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~~SECRET~~

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OTT [ ]

It is my understanding from conversation with [ ] that when information was originally received 5/26/67, it was immediately brought to the attention of External Affairs and through that department to the Department of State.

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(U)

~~SECRET~~

Date: August 31, 1967

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile : )

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

Attention : ( ) b3  
( ) b7E

Title	Character
INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES	MISC. INFO CONCERNING NATIONALITIES
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF <i>Class</i>	Reference
DATE <i>9-21-81</i>	<i>100-447935-1</i> Bulet to Ottawa - 8/9/67.

Enclosed are the following communications received from

Original and two copies

Remarks:

*PC/DP/8/21/17*  
referred to in enclosure was forwarded to the Bureau by Ottawa routing slip of 9/30/66 in matter entitled

(U)

Please note request Para 3.

Dissemination PLS. NOTE PARA 3.

- ☐ May be made as received  
☐ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure  
☒ May not be made without further clearance

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

Boston

Status with this office:

- ☒ RUC  
☒ Pending  
3 - Bureau (Encs.-3) ENCLOSURE  
1 - Boston  
1 - Ottawa  
MLI:jl  
(4)

~~SECRET~~

Do not write in space below

100-447935-2	REC 5
16 SEP 6 1967	
<p>CLASS. &amp; EXT. BY <i>SP-1</i> PRISON-FCIM DATE OF REVIEW <i>8/31/2007</i> INT. SEC.</p>	

Classified by *100-447935-2*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *1*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*10/28/97*

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EXP. PROC. 33

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

2 SEP 25 1967

SAC, WFO

8/6/68

Director, FBI

1 - C.D. Brennan  
1 - W.R. Wannall  
1 - [redacted]

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INSTITUTE FOR NEW POLICIES (INFP)

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

① INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES

[redacted] appeared 8/1/68 at the Bureau. He advised he has a great deal of data at his above business and residence address concerning the INFP, Washington, D.C., reflecting it is communist infiltrated and is behind the recent civil disturbances in the U.S.

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Bureau indices are negative concerning the INFP.

[redacted] is well known to your office and is subject of your file [redacted]. Review of files indicates that he is an individual who is greatly preoccupied by matters pertaining to police and intelligence work and fancies himself as an experienced counterintelligence agent.

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While the possibility exists that captioned organization, in view of [redacted] background, may be a figment of his imagination, the interest of the Bureau and other Government agencies in the type of information he has provided demands that serious consideration be given to interviewing him. In view of this, WFO should arrange to have [redacted] interviewed for any concrete and pertinent information he may have regarding the captioned organization. Any pertinent information developed should be forwarded to the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination.

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MAILED 19

AUG - 6 1968

COMM - FBI

1 - WFO [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

LAC:cds (8)

SEE NOTE ON PAGE 2

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

53 AUG 14 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/5/80

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UNCL. COPY FILED IN 100-447935-2X

Letter to WFO  
Re: INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES  
100-447935

NOTE:

The IPS is ostensibly a private group whose alleged purpose is to orient U.S. scholars on foreign policy matter. It is reportedly financed by private individuals and universities. b7E  
[ ] has made the observation that IPS potentially presents an excellent source of information for foreign intelligence services concerning U.S. foreign policy developments.

*See Note 2*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 9/20/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR NEW POLICIES (INFP)  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

ReBulet 8/6/68, captioned as above.

On 9/4/68, [redacted] was interviewed by SAs [redacted] at his residence.

[redacted] advised that he is [redacted] an organization he calls [redacted] which has its business office at his residence.

[redacted] stated that his organization has been conducting an investigation of the Institute for New Policies which he said is also known as the Institute for Policy Studies.

[redacted] stated that the Institute for Policy Studies, which is located at 1502 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., is exerting a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the "New Left."

[redacted] further stated that he felt the IFNP was directly involved in the Newark riots and other civil disturbances in the country; however, he had no personal knowledge of this and upon questioning could furnish no specifics or details as to why he felt this way.

REC-19 MGT-43

2 - Bureau  
2 - WFO  
(1 - [redacted])

RCQ:rmh  
(4)

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EXC

100-447935-2X1  
14 SEP 24 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/5/80 BY [redacted]

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WFO 100-46784

When questioned about the method which he used to obtain his information, [ ] at first said that he had "men" in the IFNP. However, after continued questioning [ ] admitted that he obtained all of his information from local newspapers and pamphlets publicly distributed by the IFNP. At this point in the interview, [ ] began to mention numerous names of controversial figures in the Washington, D.C. area with whom he allegedly had been in contact. Once again upon questioning he was unable to give any details or furnish any concrete intelligence information concerning any of these individuals. (u)

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On the basis of the above interview and from their personal observations the interviewing Agents are of the opinion the subject's organization [ ] is nothing more than a figment of his imagination. By his own admission [ ] is the sole leader and only member of the organization. [ ] is unemployed and said he remains a good deal of the time in his apartment with his invalid mother. In view of this the interviewing Agents feel that he spends much of his free time imagining himself engaged in counterintelligence work. [ ] exhibits an obvious detective complex and also appears to have a definite preoccupation with police matters and intelligence work. (u)

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Due to the lack of any pertinent or concrete information being furnished by this individual and the fact that interviewing agents feel [ ] in reality, does not possess such information no further investigation is contemplated in this matter by WFO. (u)

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1 - Mr. Shaw

SAC, WFO

11-1-68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director FBI (100-447935)

INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

ReBAairtel 10-21-68, entitled "Students for a Democratic Society, IS - SDS." Copies of reairtel were furnished WFO and San Francisco.

Reairtel, which pertained to the recent Cuban trip taken by members of Students for a Democratic Society, pointed out that Ramparts magazine was preparing a story about the Cuban trip. It was also pointed out that arrangements for the story were made through [redacted] who works for Ramparts and the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in Washington, D. C.

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In view of the foregoing, there may be some relationship between Ramparts and the IPS. San Francisco, in its continuing investigation of Ramparts, and WFO, in its preliminary investigation of IPS, should be alert for any information showing a working relationship between these two organizations. In this connection, it is noted that [redacted] who has been a regular contributor to Ramparts, is [redacted] of the IPS.

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WFO should conduct a preliminary investigation of the IPS to determine its aims and purposes. Furnish the Bureau a summary of all pertinent information in the files of your office concerning the IPS and the individuals associated with it. WFO should also furnish a summary of contacts made with all logical security informants and sources regarding the IPS. All pertinent information developed should be furnished in form suitable for dissemination along with your recommendation as to whether an investigation of the IPS is warranted pursuant to Section 87E, of the Manual of Instructions.

2 - San Francisco

WGS:dgf  
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REASON FOR EXT. 1, 2, 4, 2, 2  
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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 11-21-68

MAILED 24

OCT 31 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Letter to SAC, WFO  
RE: INSTITUTE FOR NEW POLICIES (IFNP)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTE:

[redacted] entered the United States from [redacted] and according to several references in Bufiles, he has lived in [redacted]. He has moved from job to job evidencing no stability on any position he has worked. In 1964, he volunteered his services [redacted] but was described as not having information of value to us. He was arrested while attending [redacted]. He attempted without success to contact the First Secretary in the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., in June of 1965. He has been affiliated with various groups such as [redacted].

[redacted] etc. The Washington Field Office described him as an individual who is greatly preoccupied by matters pertaining to police and intelligence work and fancies himself as an experienced agent. (U)

[redacted] voluntarily appeared at the Internal Security Section of the Bureau on 8/1/68 and stated he had some information regarding internal security matters. He was interviewed by C.D. Brennan and [redacted]. [redacted] advised he has data at his office in [redacted] reflecting that the IFNP, Washington, D.C., is communist infiltrated and is behind the recent civil disturbances in this country. Because of the interest of the Bureau and other Government agencies in this particular type of information, WFO is instructed to interview [redacted] for any concrete and pertinent information he might have regarding the IFNP.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI

11/7/68

SAC, WFO (157-1894) (RUC)

[REDACTED]

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RM - SNCC  
(OO: JN)

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Re Jackson let 9/14/68 requesting information concerning the type of institution subject is attending and to interview her concerning affiliation with SNCC. JN let indicated subject could be located through the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, D. C. Previous inquiry at WDC failed to develop any information concerning the subject. (u)

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. describes itself as an institution created to serve as an independent center of research and education on public policy problems in WDC. A recent brochure published by the IPS notes that it has been called the "intellectual arsenal of the New Left" by newsmen, and as "the vanguard of the status quo" by students. It has also been publicly referred to as "The Think Tank for the New Left." (u)

Among the personnel at the IPS are [REDACTED] featured prominently in the local press in anti-war, anti-war and mobilization activities; and [REDACTED]

Ass local SI subject, [REDACTED] is also known to have affiliation with the IPS. (u)

A recheck of WFO indices, credit and criminal records has not developed any additional information concerning the subject. Motor Vehicle Registration records and telephone company listings at WDC failed to indicate a record or residence address for the subject. On 10/27/68. (u)

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Jackson (157-9856) (RM)
- 2 - Dallas (157-1023) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

NOT 16

NOT RECORDED

REC-31 183 NOV 8 1968

ONS:cln

(7)

ST-100

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/6/80 BY [REDACTED]

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ORIGINAL

WFO 157-1894

a telephone call made to IPS by SA [ ] without disclosing official identity, produced information from an unidentified female secretary that the subject is a student at the Institute. The secretary declined to give out a telephone number or address where the subject could be reached. (4)

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In view of the above, it appears that the only avenue of contact with the subject would be through the IPS. While it does not appear that the IPS falls within the category of institutions of higher learning, the nature of the Institute and its personnel would dictate the utmost in prudence in making any official contacts with that organization in order to preclude any possible embarrassment to the Bureau.

The subject's affiliation with SNCC has been reported as being present at one meeting on 10/27/67 in Dallas, at the time the subject was a student at [ ]

[ ] In the light of this limited affiliation, and in the light of circumstances outlined previously, WFO recommends interview with this subject be held in abeyance. It may be noted further that the subject's mother advised on 9/12/68 that the subject anticipated a return to [ ] in January of 1969. If JN feels that an interview with the subject is necessary or desirable, WFO feels it can be best accomplished either upon her return to her home in [ ] or upon her return to [ ] in Dallas. (4)

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DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

10/30/68

SAC, WFO [REDACTED] (C)

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CHANGED

RICHARD JACKSON BARNET  
IS - VIETNAM  
(OO:WFO)

The title of this case is being changed to reveal subject's full name as appearing in the files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C. (WFO). The title had previously been carried as RICHARD BARNET.

Re Bulet to WFO dated 9/10/68.

On 10/25/68, SA HOWARD FLETCHER, JR., rechecked the passport file of RICHARD JACKSON BARNET at the Passport Office, USDS, WDC. This review revealed that passport number G716356 was issued to him on 6/13/66, valid for three years. The only change in the information set out in WFO AT to the Fu dated 8/14/67 and captioned "WORLD COUNCIL FOR PEACE, IS - C" was that due to recently enacted legislation, the period for validation is now five years from date of issue. A copy of WFO AT setting out the passport information re subject was furnished for [REDACTED]. This AT set out complete background information re subject.

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Subject was described <sup>4/2</sup> and referenced Bulet as co-Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, WDC. This group is currently being investigated by WFO (Bufile 62-112413, WFOfile 100-46784). It is felt that subject's current activities will be established through this investigation. It is also felt that

- ③ - Bureau  
    (1 - 62-112413) (Institute for Policy Studies)  
2 - WFO  
    (1 - 100-46784) (Institute for Policy Studies)

HF:jmh  
(5)

NOT RECORDED

162 NOV 1 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/5/80 BY [REDACTED]  
Comp 80 386

b6  
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

WFO



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due to this investigation, subject should not be interviewed at this time. (U)

For the above reasons, WFO is closing this case UACB. (U)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Director, FBI (

) DATE: 8-17-67

FROM : Legal Attache, Ottawa ( [ ] ) ( P )

b3  
b7ESUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES  
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

Reference: BUlet 8-9-67

Dissemination, as outlined below, was made on dates indicated  
to foreign agencies listed.☐ \_\_\_\_\_ copies of☒ Pertinent information from reBUletAPPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF [ ]  
DATE 7-27-80

Name and Location of Agency

[ ] Ottawa, Canada (U)

Date Furnished

8--17-67

b7D

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification  
nltc  
LED/bec  
1-28-77

NOT RECORDED

AUG 21 1967

3 - Bureau  
(1 - Liaison Section)

1 - OTT

MLI:jhc  
(4)

56 AUG 24 1967

55180  
CLASS. & EXT. BY [ ]  
REASON-FOUO II, 1.4.C.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8/17/2007b3  
b7E

AT. SEC.

UNITED STATES

MENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 12-6-68

FROM : M. Jones

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

Captioned individual telephoned your (Mr. Bishop's) office during the late afternoon of 12/5/68, and his call was transferred to the Crime Research Section. [REDACTED] stated that he is participating in the preparation of a study concerning the use of firearms by law enforcement agencies and asked whether the FBI required their agents to be armed during off-duty hours as is frequently the policy of local police departments. [REDACTED] was advised that while the FBI has no specific regulations requiring its agents to carry firearms while off duty, they have the authority to carry firearms at all times. He was informed that it is left to the discretion of the Special Agent based upon his present, past or possible future assignments.

b6  
b7C

Referring to the recent shooting of a larceny suspect by a Metropolitan Police Officer who had been alerted to the offender by Special Agent [REDACTED] of the Laboratory, [REDACTED] inquired if [REDACTED] was available to answer some questions with respect to this incident. He was informed [REDACTED] was not and [REDACTED] did not pursue the matter further.

b6  
b7C

At the outset of this call, [REDACTED] would give only his business address and when asked, was reluctant to reveal his residence address which he finally gave as [REDACTED] Washington, D.C. He mentioned having been involved in civil rights work in the South some years ago where he claimed the FBI "did not seem very responsive" to a civil rights complaint he brought to our attention.

Files disclose that [REDACTED] is probably identical with a person with the same name, who in 1965 made a civil rights complaint that was promptly investigated and subsequently closed for lack of evidence of a violation. IPS is a research organization described by some as the "intellectual arsenal of the New Left." We have conducted no investigation of [REDACTED] or IPS.

b6  
b7C

## RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop

1 - Mr. Casper  
1 - Mr. Conrad

JHC:pls (8) 1968

REC-23

DEC 10 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/80 BY [REDACTED]



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447936)

FROM : *CCWB*  
*gy* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-61761) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

DATE: 12/27/68

Re Bureau letter to WFO dated 11/1/68. *serv3*

On 12/16/68, the following records were checked or following persons contacted at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) in an effort to identify the Institute of Policy Studies as being in some way active at UCB. *u*

Dean of Students records  
Associated Students of UC Activities Office  
Inspector [redacted] UCPD Subversive Detail, who  
is familiar with most of the campus organizations

b6  
b7C

[redacted] UCB

Students Affairs, UCB

No record could be found for the captioned organization.

On 12/17/68, [redacted] who is familiar with campus activities at UCB, advised he had never heard of captioned organization. *u*

b7D

San Francisco Office indices contain no information indicating a connection between the captioned organization and "Ramparts" magazine. *u*

REC-10

12 DEC 30 1968

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - WFO (100-46784) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
1 - DEWSEA  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/5/80

b6  
b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

b3  
b7E

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**SECRET**

REPORTING OFFICE <b>WASHINGTON FIELD</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>WASHINGTON FIELD</b>	DATE <b>3/14/69</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>11/15/68 - 3/13/69</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C.</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>SA CHARLES M. SAWYER</b>	TYPED BY <b>sas</b>

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY **[redacted]** 11/8/89 b6 b7C  
REASON **67**  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION **3/14/89**  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS  
for 35,595

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

REFERENCE: Bulet to WFO dated 11/1/68.  
*Brackets only. This case*  
Classified by **[redacted]** b6 b7C  
Declassify on: OADR ADMINISTRATIVE  
Classified by **[redacted]** b6 b7C  
Declassify on: OADR  
Appeal # 83-0024, Appeal # WFO 80-0436

This report has been classified "Secret - No Foreign Dissemination" because it contains information from highly sensitive sources. The unauthorized disclosure of which could have an adverse effect upon the national security of the country.

1-DIA  
9-9-20  
DAD:U  
Those sources referred to above are listed as follows:  
per DRC meeting dtd 11-13-84  
DRC upheld the use of  
b7D for bracketed symbol  
#1 per A & H only  
Appeal # 80-0436 WFO

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				SA	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES			ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF
						PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/>
						PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/>

APPROVED **[Signature]**  
COPIES MADE

- 11 - Bureau (100-447935)
- 1 - 116th MIG, Washington, D.C. (RM)
- 1 - NISO, Washington, D.C. (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Washington, D.C. (RM)
- 1 - Albany (100-20388) (Info)
- 1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
- 3 - WFO (100-46784) Copy Count Continued

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF **[Signature]**  
MAR 22 1969  
SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DECLASSIFICATION

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		DATE	Notations
Agency	AGENCY: ACS, CNI, OSI, SEC. SER., SIA		
Request Recd.			
Date Fwd.			
How Fwd.			

9 APR 8 - 1969  
Classified by **7306**  
Exempt from GDS, Category **1**  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
1/6/77

1 - Mr. Brennan (Field Supervisory Folder)  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

SAC, WFO (100-46784)

4/3/69

Director, FBI (100-447933)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re: Rep of SA Charles M. Sawyer, dated 3/14/69 in captioned matter.

A review of referenced report reveals that it contains too much extraneous material. Much of the information reported could have been condensed to make for a more concise, meaningful and comprehensive report.

The report in characterizing individuals has a tendency to go off on a tangent. Many characterizations contain information which is not pertinent. A few succinct sentences set forth showing the subversive affiliation of the individual being characterized should suffice. It is not necessary to set forth a summary of all information in your files concerning the person being characterized.

The section in your report on violence pertains primarily to the individual activities of [redacted] an employee of captioned organization. You should thoroughly analyze data of this nature. Do not assume that all activities or views of individuals associated with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) are necessarily those of the IPS.

b6  
b7C

Page 35 contains information indicating that the Presbyterian Church is giving funds to the IPS. This information is not pertinent and should not have been set forth in your report. Bear in mind that this is a security investigation and the report of such unrelated data could conceivably result in embarrassment by giving the impression that there is some subversive aspect to this contribution.

The contacts listed in the report are for the most part too general and in most instances do not show the significance, if any, of such information. Characterizations of "Ramparts," the Center for Emergency Support and the American Friends Service Committee are contained in the appendix section of your report. It is to be noted that these are not Bureau approved characterizations and therefore should not have been included in the appendix.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TPD:slw

(5) 66 APR 11 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/6/80 BY [redacted]

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO APR 4

b6  
b7C

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, WFO  
RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
100-447985

It is obvious that a great deal of time and effort was expended in the preparation of this report; however, the above observations are being furnished for your guidance in connection with the preparation of future reports in this matter.

NOTE:

WFO's initial report in captioned matter generally conforms with Bureau instructions concerning its preparation; however, a substantial amount of the information reported could have been condensed to make for a more concise report. The report which is in excess of 100 pages contains much extraneous information and numerous characterizations of individuals mentioned and information which is not pertinent. The above is not desirable and is being called to WFO's attention.

START

b6  
b7C

NH 100-20107

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Detroit, by letter dated 1/29/69, and Chicago, by letter dated 2/5/69, advised informants familiar with SDS activity in Detroit and Chicago, respectively. [redacted] could furnish no information regarding [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Chicago, as reflected in relet, advised that on 3/6/64, former [redacted] advised that at a [redacted] meeting in Portland, Oregon, on 3/5/64, [redacted] stated that [redacted] has "a paranoid fear" of CP control of the SDS. (S) (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
[redacted] postmaster, West Cornwall Post Office, West Cornwall, Conn., on 8/8/69, advised [redacted] [redacted] had recently returned to his family's residence at [redacted] but in the past years he has been away at college. It is also her impression that he had recently served in the armed forces, as a conscientious objector. It was the opinion of [redacted] that [redacted] is currently unemployed and engaged in free-lance writing. She added that [redacted] as well as other members of his family, is the type who is attracted to causes; and at a seminar held at the local high school in June of this year, [redacted] spoke on behalf of legalizing the use of marijuana. [redacted] stated she is unaware of any communist leanings on the part of [redacted] U

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b7C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

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b7C

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEM~~

Copy to:

- 1- 116th MIG, Washington, D.C. (RM)
- 1- NISO, Washington, D.C. (RM)
- 1- OSI, Washington, D.C. (RM)

5-3-83  
Classified by [redacted]

Declassify on: OADR  
Amended # 83-0024

Report of:  
Date:

SA CHARLES M. SAWYER  
3/14/69

Office: Washington, D.C.

9803 RDD/TAP/CA  
5/4/93 815248

Field Office File #: 100-46784

Bureau File #: 100-447935

Title:

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IP)  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

CLASSIFIED

EXTENDED BY [redacted]

REASON FOR EXTENSION

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR

DECLASSIFICATION

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Synopsis:

IPS offices are located at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
WDC. [redacted] RICHARD J. BARNET [redacted]  
and founded the institute in October, 1963. The IPS is a  
non-profit, non-taxable institute which studies U.S. foreign  
and domestic policy and offers alternative programs to  
present policies. The number of IPS members in residence  
is small, but the IPS influence extends, through its contacts,  
to most major colleges and universities in the U.S., to  
U.S. Congressmen and Senators, labor union leaders, and  
dignitaries of some foreign countries. Students who attend  
IPS are categorized as being or having been leaders  
representing most of the major New Left and Black Militant  
organizations in the U.S. IPS educational curriculum  
centers on topics which are critical of the present U.S.  
system, which includes criticism of educational, federal,  
state, and local governing structures. The IPS courses  
are focused on the feasibility of replacing the present  
U.S. "establishment" with "Neighborhood Co-operatives" in  
which the residents will decide the behavior of its inhabi  
tants, including the behavior of the government and police.  
The individuals within the cooperative will, as a group,  
own and operate all the services within their unit. IPS  
is financed by private funds. Individuals who have been  
identified as CP members or sympathizers of CP activities,  
have participated in IPS functions. IPS representatives have  
also affiliated with known communists.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

- P\* -

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEM~~

~~SECRET~~

WFO 100-46784

~~SECRET~~

Cashier, D.C. National Bank, WDC, or to  Assistant Cashier, Public National Bank, WDC. The sources of this information is confidential and should be protected.

b6  
b7C

LEADS

Information copies are being furnished to Albany, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, New York, Portland, and San Francisco as information contained herein pertains to IPS affiliation with persons and organizations within these divisions.

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D.C. Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of IPS.

I\*  
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

June 12, 1969

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Honorable Kenneth E. Belieu  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Congressional Relations  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Belieu:

Reference is made to your request of Mr. C. D. DeLoach of this Bureau on June 9, 1969, for information concerning the Institute for Policy Studies and [REDACTED] who are associated with that organization.

b6  
b7C

The Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C., was founded in October, 1963, as a nonprofit, nontaxable organization which studies national foreign and domestic policies and offers alternatives to these policies.

Although the Institute is relatively small, it exerts considerable influence through contacts with educators, Congress, and labor. Students attending the Institute are described as leaders in the new left and black extremist movements. Courses at the Institute focus on the feasibility of replacing the present governmental structure with neighborhood cooperatives in which residents would own and operate all facilities and services and control all governing functions such as police duties. Individuals with subversive backgrounds have participated in Institute functions. Financing of the Institute is handled through private funds.

[REDACTED] at the Institute; author of several books; [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] a radical new left-oriented publication; and [REDACTED] He is active in the [REDACTED] and sympathetic to their aims and objectives.

b6  
b7C

100-447935

RLS:jkb/bad

~~SECRET~~ REC-54  
GROUP I

JUN 16 1969

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
APP. DISSEMINATION



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *Brennan*

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

DATE: June 11, 1969

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. [redacted] *C. D. Brennan*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Kenneth E. Belieu, Deputy Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations, requested Mr. DeLoach to furnish him information concerning captioned organization and related individuals. *15*

Captioned organization located at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., and was founded in 1963 as a non-profit, nontaxable organization which studies national, foreign and domestic policies and offers alternatives.

The Institute is relatively small; however, it exerts considerable influence through contacts with educators, Congress, and labor. Students attending the Institute are characterized as being leaders in the new left and black extremism. Courses at the Institute focus on the feasibility of replacing the present governmental structure with neighborhood cooperatives in which residents would own and operate all facilities and services and control all governing functions such as police duties. Known subversives have participated in Institute functions. Financing is through private funds.

[redacted] at the Institute; author of several books; [redacted] to [redacted] a radical new left-oriented publication; and [redacted]. He is active in the [redacted] and sympathetic to their cause. *11*

[redacted] at the Institute and [redacted] Literature published by the Institute in 1966 described him as an [redacted]

## RECOMMENDATION:

The attached letter be furnished to Mr. Belieu at the White House.

100-447935

Enclosure *point*

RLS:jkb (6) *OK-1*

AUG 8 1969 *DECH*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/6/8

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

Honorable Kenneth E. Belieu

[ ] has attended numerous meetings and demonstrations protesting the draft and Vietnam War. He has actively opposed adoption of the Antiballistic Missile System. On October 20, 1967, eleven individuals, including [ ] left a package with Department of Justice officials. The package contained Vietnam War protest material and Selective Service Registration Certificates and notices of classification for [ ] and others. Prosecution was declined regarding [ ] because of his age and IV-F classification, which were held to be indicative of a lack of intent to violate the Selective Service Act, 1948.

b6  
b7C

[ ] is an [ ] at the Institute and lectures on [ ] during the [ ] Literature published by the Institute in 1966 described him as an [ ]

b6  
b7C

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

This document is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from a highly sensitive source, the disclosure of which could have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of this country.

See memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan dated 6/11/69 captioned "Institute for Policy Studies, Internal Security - Miscellaneous," prepared by RLS:bad.  
JKE.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 7/11/69

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IS - MISC.

Re report of SA CHARLES M. SAWYER dated 3/14/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau, New York and New Haven are three (3), two (2), and two (2) copies, respectively, of a [redacted] from [redacted] to [redacted] (LNU).

On 7/7/69, Detective [redacted] Intelligence Division, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C. (WDC), advised SA CHARLES M. SAWYER and SA [redacted] that a source whom he knows to be reliable, recently furnished him various data from the Institute For Policy Studies (IPS), 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., WDC, among which is the enclosed letter from [redacted]

[redacted] (believed to be identical with [redacted])

This letter was dated February 5, 1969. Attached to this letter was a 12-page essay addressed to The Editors of the New York Review, 250 West 57th Street, New York, New York 10019, and signed [redacted]

The essay was concerned with why [redacted] thought revolution was possible in the United States and it was written in response to an article appearing in the "New York Review" written by BARRINGTON MOORE.

③ - Bureau (Encs. 3)

(1 - [redacted])

2 - New York (Encs. 2) (RM)

2 - New Haven (Encs. 2) (RM)

2 - WFO

(1 - [redacted])

CMS:rmh  
(7)

EX-116

REC-60

JUL 14 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/88 BY [redacted]

59 JUL 24 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly

at Savings Plan



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b3  
b7E

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b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

WFO 100-46784

On the 12th page of the enclosed essay is a hand-printed note as follows: [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] u.

[REDACTED]

The 12th page of the enclosure is larger, to include all the information which was contained in the copy received from Detective [REDACTED] u

b6  
b7C

Detective [REDACTED] advised that the copy he received from the source was a xerox copy, and the source did not know the whereabouts of the original letter and essay. u

New York is requested to advise if they have encountered similar incidents regarding coded messages being used by the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) for dissemination of information; also perhaps New York, through some of its espionage sources, might be able to advise if IPS has come to their attention as a cover for espionage activities. u

New Haven is requested to conduct appropriate background investigation in accordance with MI regarding [REDACTED] to determine any subversive activities. u

b6  
b7C

WFO is continuing the investigation of IPS and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for possible connections with hostile foreign powers. u b6 b7C

The IPS has been characterized in part in the WDC weekly newspaper, "The Examiner", dated 9/24/67, page 22, by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT, as follows: u

"IPS is a Washington-based 'Think Factory' which helped train extremists who incite violence in American cities. Educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. u

Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-20107) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
IS - MISC.

DATE: 8/18/69

b6  
b7C

Re: WFO letter to Bureau, 7/11/69. u

Relet sets forth a letter from one [redacted] (believed to be identical with [redacted] of IPS), dated 2/5/69. u

*INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES pc.*

New Haven indices reflect that the Portland Office, by letter dated 6/25/65 advised [redacted] home address: [redacted] u

b6  
b7C

Indianapolis informant [redacted] on 1/3/66, furnished information pertaining to the December conference of the National Council of the SDS held at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, 12/27-31/65, with additional meetings extended to 1/1 and 2/66. On 12/28/65, [redacted] was listed among those in attendance. This information is found in Indianapolis file [redacted] (c)

b3  
b6  
b7C  
b7D  
b7E

By letter dated 1/8/69, WFO advised that the New York Division advised that [redacted] attended a three-day meeting of the Foreign Policy Association (FPA) at New York, New York, from 5/27-29/68. u

b6  
b7C

Relet further advised that the New York Division advised that one [redacted] was listed as a [redacted] Chicago, Illinois, and was nominated for the [redacted] at the March, 1968, conference at Chicago. [redacted] at this time was a student at the Institute of Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. u

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2 Bureau (RM)  
2 WFO (RM) (100-46784)  
1 New Haven  
WVG/mm  
(5)

REC-53

AUG 20 1969

SI-117

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INT. SEC.



629 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

BU 100-19953

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~  
Records of the Passport Office, Buffalo, New York, are not available due to policy restrictions.

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Washington Field is requested to maintain contact with the Passport Office, United States Department of State, for further information concerning travel of subject and [ ] [ ] abroad. ~~(U)~~ (U)

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BUFFALO

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Will follow and report subject's activities as they may develop through Legat, [ ] and Washington Field. ~~(U)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 8/13/69

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS, BALTIMORE  
CHICAGO  
CINCINNATI  
DENVER  
DETROIT  
SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-49814)

SECURITY MATTER DASH

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) (KEY ACTIVIST). OFFICE  
OF ORIGIN: DETROIT. INSTITUTE OF POLICY STUDIES

A SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED AUGUST THIRTEEN INSTANT THAT  
SUBJECT WAS IN WASHINGTON, D.C. (WDC), DURING AFTERNOON OF  
AUGUST TWELVE LAST, TRYING TO GET SOME MONEY. HE REPORTEDLY  
DID GET SOME MONEY FROM [REDACTED]  
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES, WDC.

SOURCE STATED [REDACTED] LEFT WDC DURING NIGHT OF AUGUST TWELVE  
LAST, MODE OF TRAVEL NOT KNOWN, FOR CHICAGO. FROM CHICAGO [REDACTED]  
PLANNED TO GO ON TO DENVER, COLORADO, PROBABLY ON AUGUST  
FOURTEEN NEXT, FOR A MEETING WITH [REDACTED] OF THE BLACK

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 4 - WFO

(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-46784) (IEC)

NOT RECORDED  
149 AUG 19 1969

S:rmh

58 AUG 27 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/6/80 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-448856-18

GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

-8\*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. [REDACTED]

in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam War position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

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SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" reflects the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

General for Information for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, as well as a member of the Vietnamese Peace Committee. He took part in the "World Gathering of Pacifist Forces," which took place in East Berlin. (S)

BU T-7 further advised that KOLKO and his wife were expected to travel, on June 28, 1969, to visit with friends in Southern France and most likely will return to Paris about August 23 or 24, 1969. (S)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in American cities. Educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. (4)

Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

On June 25, 1968, records of the Board of Health, Patterson, New Jersey, as made available by clerk [redacted] showed a birth record in file, Number 1717, indicating that GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO was born August 17, 1932 in Patterson, New Jersey, to PHILIP KOLKO and LILLIAN ZAEDIKOW. This birth record identified PHILIP KOLKO's occupation as a weaver, his age as 29, and his place of birth as Poland. LILLIAN ZAEDIKOW's age was recorded as 28 and her place of birth as being Russia. (4)

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On July 15, 1969, Mr. [redacted] supra, advised that records of this office show that KOLKO, who was initially appointed, on September 1, 1968, at SUNYAB, is expected to resume his teaching responsibilities in September, 1969. Mr. [redacted] said KOLKO's personnel file contains no indication that he intends to travel abroad this summer, and, in fact, he does not have enough seniority at SUNYAB to obtain a sabbatical. (4)

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BU T-7, a confidential source abroad, on July 18, 1969, advised he had recently learned that GABRIEL M. KOLKO, date of birth August 17, 1932, place of birth Patterson, New Jersey, and his wife arrived in Paris, France, on June 26, 1969. (S)

BU T-7 said that, on June 27, 1969, KOLKO and his wife had an interview with [redacted]

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[redacted] and also with NGUYEN MINH VY, member of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris Peace Talks. (S)

BU T-7 described NGUYEN MINH VY, born July 17, 1914, at Thua-Thien, as a journalist by profession and Director- (S)

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GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

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BU T-6, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised, on March 13, 1969, that as of February and March, 1969, one Dr. GABRIEL KOLKO, 857 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, New York, telephone number 884-0426, was considered to be a member of SDS. (U)

On May 2, 1969, [ ] SUNYAB, Buffalo, New York, advised that records of this office show that Dr. GABRIEL KOLKO, a professor of history with tenure, is currently a faculty member at SUNYAB. Mr. [ ] stated that records of this office show KOLKO was born on August 17, 1932 in Patterson, New Jersey, is married and resides at 857 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, New York. Mr. [ ] said KOLKO in the past has extensively published books, articles and papers. Mr. [ ] said that KOLKO was formerly associated with the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and was formerly employed by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D. C. (U)

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The March 17, 1968 issue of the "Potomac" supplement to "The Washington Post" newspaper contains an article on pages 17 and 22 entitled, "Brain Power to the Disaffected," which pertains to the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, D. C. (U)

The article states in part that "history professor GABRIEL KOLKO conducts a 'Cold War Seminar' at IPS. KOLKO stated further that he is not doing research for political purposes, but states his views are disengaged. He is against the war in Vietnam. He stated that the war was "rigged." He states the best newspaper in the world is "Le Monde." He states further that "When I was at the University of Pennsylvania I helped in exposing the chemical warfare research they were doing there. Ultimately the University gave it up. I think that's the way to do things. . ." (U)

The IPS is characterized as follows:

In an article in the Washington weekly newspaper, "The Examiner," dated September 24, 1967, page 22, EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT described IPS in part as:

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GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

"level of near starvation. American ability to acquire raw material at will at a preferred price is a major factor in continuing 'level of living' as it is presently found. Third world trade exports have dropped from 31% to 19%, 38% loss in income from aid plans a recent factor from loss of trade. Third world is stagnating. Food consumption per capita has fallen in South America, and Africa, as level for, stagnated in Far East. The US sustains import tariffs against the third world products. JOHN FOSTER DULLES in 1948, stated that 'foreign aid is not to make friends, it is to help lookout for our interests.' Loans, interest, and service charges in 1964, 'used up' up to 30% of dollars given in aid. - South America now is up to a level of 75% returned to US in this way. Loans are now required to be repaid in dollars necessitating earnings to be made in dollars. Raw materials needed by US tend to limit items sold to US and limits economic development in third world." (u)

On January 24, 1969, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation obtained a poster which had been acquired from St. Bonaventure University, Olean, New York. This poster indicated that District SDS Conference Workshops had been scheduled for December 14, 1968, at Norton Union, SUNYAB, also that one GABRIEL KOLKO had been scheduled to speak on imperialism. (u)

BU T-5, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on March 27, 1969, made available information pertaining to the Radical Educational Project (REP), Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan. According to BU T-5, REP is self-described as a "movement that acts...dedicated to the purpose of providing our activist movement with a research, education and publication arm--an internal education instruction of our own," also that REP is developing educational programs around the coordination of films and speakers for SDS chapters. BU T-5 said that, as of March, 1969, one of the sponsors of REP was listed as one GABRIEL KOLKO. (u)

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GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

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KOLKO remarked that the United States needs the third world, but the third world does not need the United States. (U)

A characterization of Students  
For a Democratic Society (SDS)  
appears in the appendix section  
of this memorandum.

BU T-3, with whom insufficient contact has occurred to judge his reliability, on November 30, 1968, made available a leaflet captioned "Teach-In, The Multiversity and The Empire." This leaflet announced the teach-in sponsored by Columbia SDS, on November 22, 1968, at Mac Millan Auditorium, 116th Street and Broadway. This leaflet listed as one of the participants one GABRIEL KOLKO "SUNY-Buffalo." The leaflet indicated two of the subjects under discussion would be (1) United States cold war foreign policy and the third world and (2) the role of Universities in the formulation and implementation of United States foreign policy. (U)

BU T-3, on November 30, 1968, made available a leaflet issued by Columbia SDS, which was captioned "SUPPORT the fight for better schools--FIGHT the Shanker walkout." This leaflet indicates that Columbia SDS and the New York Regional SDS support the people of Ocean Hill-Brownsville in their fight for decent schools in their community. An attachment to this leaflet indicates one GABRIEL KOLKO is listed as being a panel member for discussion of the subject "An Overview of America and Its Foreign Policy." (U)

BU T-4, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised, on November 22, 1968, that a teach-in was held, on November 22, 1968, in MacMillan Theatre, Columbia University. One of the speakers at this teach-in was one Professor KOLKO from Buffalo University. According to BU T-4, KOLKO made the following comments: (U)

"No comprehensive theory of world conditions.  
American behavior actively causes training in political  
spectrum of whole world. Economics of raw materials  
a very intricate system. Trade with third world has  
not helped peasants rise up from their sustenance (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Buffalo, New York  
August 15, 1969

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 05-11-2015

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO,  
Also Known As  
Morris Kolko

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF

BU T-1, who was in a position to furnish first-hand information, advised on January 25, 1967, that an American Professor by the name of GABRIEL KOLKO and his wife, JOYCE, would be members of a "legal investigative team" of the International War Crimes Tribunal that was planning to travel to North Vietnam, and its aim would be to secure evidence of American atrocities in Vietnam. BU T-1 further advised the team was scheduled to depart on February 10, 1967, from Paris, France, to Pahnnon Penh, North Vietnam. (X)(U)

The May 3, 1967 edition of the "Washington Post," a daily newspaper in Washington, D. C., page A-20, contained an article captioned "'Americans Help Open Anti-U.S. 'Tribunal.'" This article is datelined Stockholm, May 2, and in part states that one GABRIEL KOLKO, an associate Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania, criticized United States policy in Vietnam, on May 2, 1967, at the "International War Crimes Tribunal." This article also stated that KOLKO told the gathering at the Tribunal that "the intervention of the North in South Vietnam is a myth and the American buildup in Vietnam is a violation of the Geneva accords of 1954." (U)

BU T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on November 27, 1968, that on November 22, 1968, a teach-in on the topic of "The Multiversity and the Empire," which was sponsored by Columbia University Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), was held in MacMillan Auditorium, Columbia University. One of the speakers at this teach-in was one GABRIEL KOLKO, of State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB), Buffalo, New York, who gave a statistics-studded speech on United States involvement in the third world. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. B

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 1,2,3

DATE OF REVIEW 8/15/2009

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GROUP I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF

DATE 12/14/77

~~SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

3/26/79 SP

b6  
b7C

1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
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7/23/69

SAC, WFO

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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IS - CU  
NA - CU  
Bufile: 100-447713  
WFO File: 100-46108

5/6/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 7/23/89

IS - CU  
NA - CU  
Bufile: 100-430438  
WFO File: 100-46089

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 7-21-80

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Reurairtel 7/15/69 captioned "Cuban Mission to the  
United Nations, IS - CU" your file 100-36709.

(U) Reurairtel identified subjects as subscribers of the  
telephone number called 7/10/69 by [redacted] at  
a known [redacted] at  
the Cuban Mission to the United Nations (CMUN).

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It is noted New York airtel 7/10/69 under the CMUN  
caption reported that [redacted] had spoken to an unidentified male  
at the Washington, D. C. number, they appeared to know each  
other, [redacted] requested him to obtain information concerning  
hearings being held on Latin-American affairs, and [redacted]  
inquired as to the manner in which the Director's testimony  
(apparently, with reference to FBI's appropriation) could be  
obtained.

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(U) A review of subjects' files at the Bureau discloses  
that their names are included in the Security Index; they are  
[redacted] both are affiliated with Students for a Democratic  
Society (SDS), he is employed by the Institute for Policy

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b7D

2 - New York

1 - 62-77781-210 (CMUN)  
1 - [redacted] (Viera)  
1 - 62-112413

HLD:fb  
(12)

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOT RECORDED

132 JUL 24 1969

AUG 20 1969



Let to SAC, WFO

Re: [redacted]

100-447733

100-450436

aka

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Studies (IPS), [redacted]

[redacted] and she visited Cuba in 1968 on an SDS-sponsored trip.

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According to your letter dated 11/7/68 captioned [redacted] RM - SNCC," your file 157-1894, IPS has been publicly referred to, as "The Think Tank for the New Left."

The intelligence interests of [redacted] are known to include political matters relating to Latin America. It is possible that both subjects are [redacted] under his direction. Reopen investigation of subjects under above characters. Conduct a most penetrating, continuing investigation of them in an effort to determine their exact relationship with [redacted]. Submit results of your investigation in reports for referral to the Department in connection with the registration requirements of Sections 851-857, Title 50, U.S. Code. Consider the advisability of tabbing the Security Index cards of both subjects pro-Cuban. ~~S~~

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b7D

(U)



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

July 22, 1969

MARY MC CARTHY

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported that on June 21, 1969, [redacted] stated she had accepted a position with the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C., to conduct research in the area of the United States military's role in the economy. The source described [redacted]

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[redacted] as "Marxist-Leninists" who worked behind the scenes in student agitation in the Washington, D. C., area. The source learned from [redacted] that Senator Eugene McCarthy's daughter, Mary McCarthy, was also working at the Institute for Policy Studies and "being radicalized" by the Institute.

[redacted] also advised the source that [redacted] a June, 1969, graduate of American University and [redacted] of the Students for a Democratic Society Chapter at American University, Washington, D. C., requested [redacted] to set up a luncheon engagement for him and Mary McCarthy. [redacted] indicated to [redacted] that he desired this initial contact with McCarthy to become acquainted with her, so that ultimately he could "bed" her, and in that way "radicalize" her further.

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The Institute for Policy Studies is located at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C., and was founded in 1963 as a nonprofit, nontaxable organization which studies National, foreign and domestic policies and offers alternatives. It exerts considerable influence through contacts with educators, Congress and labor. Students attending the Institute are characterized as being leaders in the New Left and black extremism. Known subversives have participated in Institute functions. Financing is through private funds.

Students for a Democratic Society is a militant, revolutionary, "Marxist-Leninist" youth group.

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b7C ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ADDITIONAL AGENCIES

*declassification*  
NS/dkc  
12/6/77

ENCLOSURE

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

C. D. Brennan

MARY MC CARTHY  
SECURITY MATTER - MISCELLANEOUS

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

#-22-69

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - Mr. B. A. Wells  
1 - Mr. W. H. Floyd  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

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PURPOSE:

To recommend that information concerning the employment of Senator Eugene McCarthy's daughter, Mary McCarthy, at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., be furnished to the White House and the Attorney General.

BACKGROUND:

Washington Field has reported the receipt of information that Mary McCarthy, the daughter of Senator Eugene McCarthy of Wisconsin, was employed at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., and "being radicalized" by the Institute.

The Institute for Policy Studies was founded in 1963 as a nonprofit, nontaxable organization which studies National, foreign and domestic policies and offers alternatives. It exerts considerable influence through contacts with educators, Congress and labor. Students attending the Institute are characterized as being leaders in the New Left and black extremism. Known subversives have participated in Institute functions. Financing is through private funds.

This information is also being furnished to Secret Service, State Department, [redacted] and the military intelligence agencies.

b7E

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum be approved for transmittal to the White House and the Attorney General.

Enclosure

LAC:bad/lmb  
(9)

*file 5-TM*

*100-447935*  
NOT RECORDED

*100-447935*

150 AUG 13 1969

*342*  
70 AUG 19 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *5/6/80*

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b7c

DIRECTOR, FBI

b3  
b7E

7/31/69

SAC, WFO (100-46591) (P)

CHANGED

GABRIEL MORRIS KOLKO, aka

SM-SDS

(OO:BU)

The title is marked "Changed" to reflect the full name of the subject.

ReBulet to the Bureau dated 3/21/69.

Enclosed for Buffalo are one xerox copy each of San Juan airtel and LHM to the Bureau dated 1/24/67 captioned, "Proposed International War Crimes Tribunal, Information Concerning"; WFO let and LHM to Bureau dated 6/1/67 captioned as above; WFO let to the Bureau captioned as above, dated 8/29/67; Philadelphia let and LHM to Bureau dated 7/3/67; a copy of a newsclipping from "The Washington Post and Times Herald", dated 5/3/67, page A-20 entitled, "Americans Help Open Anti-U.S. Tribunal". Also enclosed for Buffalo is one copy of a Passport photo of KOLKO and his wife, CAROLINE JOYCE MANNING (nee), dated 12/7/60.

The 3/17/68 issue of the "Potomac" supplement to "The Washington Post" newspaper contains an article on pages 17 and 22 entitled, "Brain Power to the Disaffected", which pertains to the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, D.C.

- 3 - Bureau  
    (1-100-447935)  
2 - Buffalo (100-19953) (Encs. 6) (RM)  
1 - Detroit (100-34017) (Info) (RM)  
2 - WFO  
    (1-100-46784)

CMS:rmh  
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/20/78

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100-447935-  
NOT RECORDED  
198 AUG 4 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN

336 (RM)  
70 AUG 13 1969

The article states in part that "history professor GABRIEL KOLKO conducts a 'Cold War Seminar'" at IPS. KOLKO stated further that he is not doing research for political purposes, but states his views are disengaged. He is against the war in Vietnam. He states that the war was "rigged". He states the best newspaper in the world is "Le Monde". He states further that "When I was at the University of Pennsylvania I helped in exposing the chemical warfare research they were doing there. Ultimately the University gave it up. I think that's the way to do things. . . ."

The IPS is characterized as follows:

In an article in the Washington weekly newspaper, "The Examiner," dated 9/24/67, page 22, EDITH KENMIT ROOSEVELT described IPS in part as:

A Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in American cities. Educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation.

Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

For information of Buffalo, IPS is currently under investigation at Washington, D.C., because of its apparent extensive influence with New Left and Black Militant organizations throughout the United States.

The above referenced communication, dated 5/21/69, indicates that KOLKO was one of the sponsors of the Radical Education Project at Ann Arbor, Michigan. The investigation of IPS seems to be producing a pattern similar to the above situation, in that a present or past IPS faculty member or student emerges as a sponsor, founder or leader in New Left organizations or projects in universities across the country.

In view of the current investigation of IPS, WFO did not contact their offices for verification of KOLKO's employment.

WFO will forward other pertinent information regarding KOLKO upon completion of file review.

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE: 50X (1.6)  
DATE 03-16-2015

FBI

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b7C

Date: 11/7/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL ~~SECRET~~ \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE 7-21-80

SUBJECT: MEETING OF THE NEW LEFT AT THE  
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVE., WDC  
11/7-9/69  
IS - NEW LEFT

ReNY telephone call to WFO, 11/6/69

On 11/6/69

~~Secret. No Foreign Dissemi-~~

ation.

100-424440

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Washington Field (RM)

- (1 - [redacted])
- 2 - New York
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - [redacted])

AJD:ljk  
(7)

NOV 17 1969

NOV 8 1969

b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

REASON FOR REVIEW  
DATE OF REVIEW 11/7/89

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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[Redacted]

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~~139072~~

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The NYO has no additional info concerning this  
symposium and due to the ambiguous nature of the info  
furnished b [Redacted] and in lieu of additional facts, no  
LHM is being submitted.

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b7E

~~139072~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-384411)

10/31/69

SAC, WFO (40-176) (P)

DAVID TYRE DELLINGER  
SM - C (KEY ACTIVIST)

ReNYlet to Bureau dated 9/10/69.

202 NA8 7522 - is listed to Broyles Typesetting  
Service, 920 L Street, N.W., WDC.  
Indices are negative.

[redacted] - is listed to [redacted]  
[redacted]  
Indices re [redacted] are negative.

b6  
b7C

202 AD4 9382 - is listed to the Institute for Policy  
Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue,  
N. W., WDC.

The IPS has been characterized in an article in the  
Washington, D. C. weekly newspaper "The Examiner" dated 9/24/67,  
page 22, by EDITH HERMIT ROOSEVELT.

She states in part, that the IPS is a Washington based  
"Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence  
in U. S. cities, and whose educational research serves as a cover  
for intrigue and political agitation.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

3-Bureau  
(1-100-447935)(IPS)  
3-New York (100-121672) (RM)  
(1-100- ) (IPS)  
2-WFO  
(1-100-46784)

CMS:cjb  
(5)

NOT RECORDED

78 NOV 1 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/12/88

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70 NOV 6 - 1969



WFO 40-176

The article also states, that through its conferences and seminars, the IPS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

For further information, New York refer to indices re Institute for Policy Studies, reports dated 3/14/69, and 9/12/69.

WFO has instituted a request with the telephone company, WDC, to determine the subscribers to the remaining numbers. When identifications are determined, WFO will supply pertinent information to the Bureau and New York.

UNITED STATES

MENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 11/26/69

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (100-11066) RUC

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - MISC

(OO:WFO)

Re WFO report of SA CHARLES M. SAWYER, 9/12/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 6 copies of an LHM re captioned organization. Two copies and 1 copy respectively are enclosed for WFO and Knoxville. Also enclosed for WFO and Knoxville is one copy of the booklet "Don't Go 'Way".

The investigation reflected in LHM was conducted by SA CHARLES H. WINTER.

Richmond is conducting no further investigation, UACB.

Information copy to Knoxville in view of investigation being conducted in Claiborne County, Tenn.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/6/80

EX-111

REC 92

10 DEC 1 1969

AGENCY  
REQ. REC'D  
DATE FORW.  
HOW FORW.  
BY

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 6) (REGISTERED MAIL)
  - 2 - WFO (100-46784) (Encl. 3) (REGISTERED MAIL)
  - 1 - Knoxville (Encl. 2) (REGISTERED MAIL)
  - 1 - Richmond
- CHW/vlr





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Richmond, Virginia

November 26, 1969

RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

On October 24, 1969, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] LENOWISCO, 413 Wood Avenue, Big Stone Gap, Virginia, informed this organization represents the Lee, Wise, Scott Counties, and the City of Norton, Virginia, as a planning commission for the betterment and upgrading of the area represented, for such items as law enforcement, hospitals, sewer systems, etc.

b6  
b7C

He said he knows of no organization in this area operating under the name of the "Model Valley Community", a Federation of Communities in Service, in Wise County, Virginia, and Claiborne County, Tennessee. He stated, however, there is a group in Big Stone Gap, Virginia, which operates as the FOCIS Center, which was started by Sisters from the local Catholic Church. The group originally was established to collect clothing for the poor people in the area, and to assist the needy in any way they could.

Mr. [REDACTED] stated that since the letters "FOCIS" could represent "Federation of Communities in Service", possibly there is some connection to the Model Valley Community, although he has never heard of the Model Valley Community as such in this area. He said he would obtain additional information concerning the FOCIS Group.

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Upon recontact on November 17, 1969, Mr. [REDACTED] stated he has ascertained the FOCIS Center is actually a branch Office of the Federation of Communities in Service Communications Center, 4401 Sullivan Road, Knoxville, Tennessee. This group was originally founded by the local Catholic Sisters, but the group broke away from the local Catholic Church around 1967, and formed their own group, which consists of possibly five - ten individuals, who now live in a house owned by the local Methodist Church.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/80 BY [REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

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15

RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

The group still assists the local underprivileged families, and they are interested in local arts and community services and the preservation of local folklore. They have engaged in no local activities which are objectionable, although they have had some meetings at their church home with singing late at night which have brought protests from the neighbors strictly on a noise basis. Mr. [ ] furnished booklets entitled "Don't Go 'Way", which the organization has distributed locally.

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On October 24, 1969, [ ] Big Stone Gap, Virginia, informed he has been aware of the local FOCIS Center in Big Stone Gap, Virginia, for quite sometime. It has headquarters located in Knoxville, Tennessee. It first came to his attention when some of the neighbors in the vicinity of 413 Wood Avenue complained about the noise of music and singing at that address late at night on a few occasions. He learned this center was established by some Sisters of the local Catholic Church and was known first as the "Holy Cross Center", and the group later broke away from the Catholic Church and continued to operate the same center in a house owned by the local Methodist Church.

He added [ ] formerly a Sister with the Catholic Church, is in charge of the group, and she is assisted by [ ] also a former Sister of the Catholic Church. Some of the local teachers visit the center from time-to-time, and they have meetings occasionally at the center which draws visitors from elsewhere. There has been no difficulty with the group, according to [ ] except for the noise as previously described, and after he talked with [ ] there has been no further complaint in this regard from the neighbors.

b6  
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

b6  
b7C

Date: 10/23/69

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile : )

Attention

~~SECRET~~

1414

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

( 100-1751 )

Title  [redacted]	Character <b>SM-C</b>
	Reference  No prior correspondence.

DATE 10/23/69

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Enclosed are the following communications received from the [redacted]

Original and four copies of [redacted] letter 10/14/69.

Remarks:

Note request in Paragraph 4. (1/)

Para 1 - Institute of Policy Studies - refers to LHM dated 2/24/69 at Washington, D.C. re [redacted] aka., Bufile 100-445953. This Institute was also the subject of investigation in the "Miscellaneous Information Concerning (Nationalities Intelligence)" caption - Bufile not available.

b6  
b7C

Dissemination (Note Para 4)

- ☐ May be made as received  
☐ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure  
☐ May not be made without further clearance with [redacted]

Classified by [redacted]  
Exempt from GDS, Category [redacted]  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

b7D

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

Atlanta; Kansas City; Springfield

Status with this office:

- ☐ RUC  
☐ Pending

5 - Bureau (Encs.-5)  
1 - ca office listed above

RTN:j1  
(5)

ENCLOSURE

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REAS. & EXT. DIV. DATE OF REVIEW 6/23/2009	

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-445867-1

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## INMENT

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5010-108



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

December 17, 1969

Institute for Policy Studies  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

The Washington Post and Times Herald newspaper, November 13, 1969, contains an article entitled "Broadcast Puts Author Barnett at Hanoi Talks". This article states in part that "Hanoi Radio named Washington author and historian Richard J. Barnett yesterday as a participant in a meeting to register support of 'massive (American) demonstrations against the United States aggression in Vietnam.'"

"The meeting, in Hanoi Tuesday night, was held by the Vietnam Peace Committee and the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity With The American People. Hanoi Radio said the chairman of the latter group, identified as Professor Hoang Minh Giam, 'warmly hailed the planned massive anti-war demonstrations of the American people. . .'

"Barnet, who served in the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Kennedy Administration, is co-director with Marcus Ruskin of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) here.

The IPS has been characterized in an article in the Washington, D.C. weekly newspaper, "The Examiner" dated September 24, 1967, page 22, by Edith Kermit Roosevelt. She states in part that the IPS is a Washington based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation.

516180

SSK

dp

Institute for Policy Studies

Through its conferences and seminars, the IFS exerts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left."

The Washington Post newspaper, article, quoted above goes on to say, "According to informed sources Barnet arrived in North Vietnam last Friday, and is expected to leave there this Friday. Raskin said Barnet's mission is "to inform himself of the specific negotiating position of North Vietnam", and also to write about his trips there. Few Americans have been granted visas to enter North Vietnam in recent years."

"Barnet is on the advisory board of a newly formed news agency named Dispatch formed to provide 'in-depth reporting on important issues and events for national newspapers and the collegiate press.' "

The Dispatch News Service is described in the Washington Post and Times Herald, November 13, 1969, page A-1 and A-9, "United States Officer is Accused of Mass Viet 'murders'," as a small news agency, for which Seymour M. Hersch wrote a story concerning Lieutenant William L. Caley, Jr. and his "premeditated murder" of 109 South Vietnamese villagers during combat on March 16, 1968.

The Washington, D.C. Evening Star newspaper dated November 25, 1969, page A-11 contains an article by Mary McGrory entitled "Silence Greets Viet Massacres", states in part that Seymore M. Hersh, who broke the story regarding the massacre at My Lai, is a 32 year-old Washington free-lance writer who McGrory described as a fast-talking, fast moving former Pentagon reporter, who was formerly, for a brief period, Senator Eugene McCarthy's campaign press secretary.

McGrory goes on to say that Hersh is against the war, but resents a London newspaper's designation of him as a "left-wing nut."



Institute for Policy Studies

Mc Grory states that Hersh applied for and got a \$1,000 grant from the Philip M. Stern Foundation to investigate the My Lai Massacre story.

One Philip Stern of Washington, D.C., who appears to be identical with the Philip M. Stern mentioned in McGrory's article is listed in the IPS handbook "The First Three Years" as an IFS Trustee.

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1357263-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 116

Page 10 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 11 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 12 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 13 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 14 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 67 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 69 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 71 ~ b7D;  
Page 72 ~ b7D;  
Page 73 ~ b7D;  
Page 74 ~ b7D;  
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SAC, Boston (100-39531)

9/13/71

Director, FBI (100-447935)

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)**  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

A review of information previously furnished by you has indicated that IPS played a supporting role in establishing the Cambridge Institute (CI), and several individuals formerly connected with captioned organization are also on the staff of the CI.

You are instructed to reopen your investigation of this matter in order to determine if the CI is an independent organization or the Massachusetts arm of IPS. Include the identities of fellows, associates and staff members, as well as any information available concerning current projects in which the organization is involved in. Contact Boston area banks to determine if CI has an active account and consider the advisability of surveying such account for any transactions of interest to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-17-2011 BY [redacted]

b6

b7C

Submit your findings in form suitable for  
with your recommendation as to whether or not  
investigation is warranted.

1 - WFO

WGD:crs/at  
(5)

NOTE:

Boston instructed to conduct  
to determine if formal relationship  
Massachusetts and IPS, Washington  
factory.

MAILED 5

SEP 1

MAIL ROOM [initials]

EDV

SEP 10

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. ☒

DATE 11/1/79

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATA  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

1

8/11/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Washington Field Office

From: Director, FBI

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
RESEARCH MATTER  
BUDED 8/23/71

In connection with a current research project, you are requested to review your files for information concerning the organization, financing and activities of captioned Institute which has its headquarters Washington, D. C. Conduct no open inquiries in this regard; however, if it is possible to discreetly do so, obtain a copy of the latest report of the Institute. Furnish material developed, including public source information, to the Bureau, attention: Research Section, Domestic Intelligence Division, by 8/23/71.

MSR:nls NLS  
(4)

MSR/pjg

EX-114

REC-15

22 AUG 12 1971

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

55 AUG 18 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/19/94 BY [redacted]b6  
b7C

DD FORM 18 1962

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC \_\_\_\_\_

HSC

62-116464-214

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DATE 11/14/75

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : C. D. Brennan *CD*

DATE: September 2, 1971

FROM : W. R. Wannall *WRW*

SUBJECT: MC LEK  
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. Dalbey  
1 - Mr. Brennan  
1 - Mr. Shackelford  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. Wagoner

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

On 8/27/71 the Department arranged for the issuance of a Boston grand jury subpoena in the [redacted]

[redacted] Past investigation has shown that this group has had "McNamara Study" material in its possession and that members of it have been associated with and in contact with Ellsberg.

It is anticipated [redacted]

On 9/1/71 Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] of Boston Office advised that when in the past [redacted] have been subpoenaed by the Boston grand jury the Boston Office has [redacted] He said that since Washington Field Office (WFO) is origin in the case on the Institute for Policy Studies, he felt that WFO would be in a better position to [redacted]

[redacted] subpoenaed and set out pertinent leads, not only with regard to captioned investigation but with regard to the investigation of the Institute. [redacted] was advised that this procedure would be satisfactory but that the matter should be discussed by him with WFO.

Later in the day on 9/1/71 Supervisor [redacted] of WFO advised that he concurred with [redacted] thoughts and that WFO would set out leads in captioned matter regarding any logical investigation based upon a review of the toll call records. Results of coverage of such leads will be furnished to WFO and that office will thereafter coordinate these results and report pertinent information either in captioned case, in the case on the [redacted]

WRW:ams

(9)

61 SEP 13 1971

NOT RECORDED

61 SEP 10 1971

b7C

CONTINUED - OVER

*Wannall*  
*Wagoner*  
*Jul 5 - H. H. H.*



Memorandum for Mr. Brennan  
Re: MC LEK

Institute for Policy Studies, or, if appropriate, in both cases. WFO will undertake to coordinate this entire matter in accordance with the foregoing procedures.

ACTION:

The above is submitted for record purposes.

*osaw*  
*OB*

*WCS*

*✓*

*ds*

*jam*

*\$15*

*WBS*

*OK*  
*2*

*7*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 9/23/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1525 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
IS-NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 7/9/71 authorizing WFO to rent a look-  
out at [REDACTED], for a period of  
three months. We paid one half month's rent for July, and  
since the lookout has been of assistance it is felt that it  
should be continued. Justification for same is being pre-  
pared and will be submitted to the Bureau at an early date.  
In the interim we need authority to pay a full month's rent  
for October next; thus, authority is requested to pay \$375  
for same. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b7D

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF C/955-  
DATE 7-16-80 Jc

1CCFM 924 944 -D

2-Bureau  
2-WFO  
(1-66-4924)

ST-112

CJJ:rs  
(4)

5/19/80  
CLASS. & EXT. B  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 9/23/91

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

REC-56  
100-447935-97  
b6  
b7C  
SEP 30 1971

58 OCT 5 - 1971



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 9/27/71

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-7852) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES  
IS - NEW LEFT

Re Atlanta letter to the Bureau dated 7/29/71, with enclosed LHM captioned "INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES SPONSORED DEMONSTRATION PLANNED AT STOCKHOLDERS MEETING, GULF OIL CORPORATION, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 4/27/71, IS - MISCELLANEOUS".

[redacted] advised on 9/24/71, that the Institute for Southern Studies (ISS), which he described as an affiliate of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), headquartered in Washington, D. C., is located at Five Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Ga. He advised that the ISS sponsored a demonstration in April, 1971, against the Gulf Oil Corporation. This source advised that since that date the ISS has not conducted any demonstrations or engaged in any other activities in the Atlanta area. (U)

Inasmuch as the ISS is not involved in any activities at the present time, an LHM is not being submitted. Investigation is continuing to ascertain the complete leadership and activity of ISS and its relationship with IPS.

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE~~

REC-45 EX-103

100-447935-73

1 cc Bureau D

- ②-Bureau
- 2-WFO (100-46784)
- 2-Atlanta
- ORH: bsm

5/19/80  
CLASS. & EXT. B  
REASON-FCIM II  
DATE OF REVIEW 9/27/91

12 OCT 1 1971

NEW LEFT

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE



F B I

Date: 9/22/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] b3  
(ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION) b7E

FROM: SAC, WFO [REDACTED] (P)

MC LEK  
SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS OFFICE  
(OO:LA)

ReWFOsummary teletype 9/21/71,

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a paperback, edition of the book, "Washington Plans An Aggressive War," by RALPH STAVINS, RICHARD J. BARNET, and MARCUS G. RASKIN, DC, published by Vintage Books, a division of Random House, New York, August, 1971, copyright 1971, by the aforementioned authors, which was obtained by WFO on 9/21/71.

For information of Boston, Los Angeles and New York, the back cover page of this publication denotes the following:

"This book is a view of what happened in the Vietnam war, why it happened, and what steps need to be taken to prevent it from happening again."

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 1)  
(1 - 100-447935) (IPS)
- 1 - Boston [REDACTED] b3  
2 - Los Angeles [REDACTED] b7E  
1 - New York [REDACTED]  
2 - WFO  
(1 - 100-46784) (IPS)

JAV:lmc  
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/19/91

NOT RECORDED

170 OCT 1 1971

SEP 22 1971

C. L. C. D. 3/24  
Spec. Inv. Office

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

WFO

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"Messrs. STAVINS, BARNET and RASKIN assert that the war was no accident; that it was not the result of incalculable errors but was rather the consequence of calculable plans and decisions to proceed with them. The authors have set out to discover the roots of the war and the means by which the leaders of our government decided to commit the population and resources of this country to the aggressive pursuit of predetermined foreign policy aims in Southeast Asia. To that end they have drawn not only on the now-famous 'Pentagon papers' but also on other government documents from the State Department, the Defense Department, the White House and the intelligence community, and also from intensive interviews with more than three hundred of the men who made the war.

" 'Washington Plans an Aggressive War' is a revealing firsthand study that takes us well beyond what the Pentagon's analysts have written. Twenty months in preparation, this study, and its soon-to-be-published companion volume, 'Washington Wages an Aggressive War,' provide not only an intensive view of the secret deliberations at the highest levels of government, but offer an analysis of the motivation, psychology and designs of the warmakers themselves. In addition to a documented history of the planning of the war, this book contains an interpretation by RICHARD BARNET of the bureaucratic process that led to the war. There is also a series of proposals by MARCUS RASKIN to avoid such a catastrophe in the future through the restoration of representative democracy and institutional checks on secret decision-making."

The preface of this book set forth the following:

" 'Washington Plans an Aggressive War' is the result of an intensive study carried on by members of the Institute for Policy Studies over a twenty-month period. The findings have been the subject of continuous seminars at the Institute, which is building a collection of materials on the war. The study, however, is the responsibility of its authors and does

WFO

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not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute, its trustees, or Fellows. Two of the authors of this volume, RICHARD J. BARNET and MARCUS G. RASKIN, have been students and critics of U.S. policy in Vietnam for a decade. Both witnessed the crucial escalation of the war in the Kennedy Administration while serving as officials in the Department of State and the White House. In early 1970, MARCUS RASKIN conceived the idea of a study which would attempt to explain how the Vietnam disaster happened by analyzing the planning of the war. A study team directed by RALPH STAVINS concentrated on finding out who did the actual planning which led to the decisions to bombard North Vietnam, to introduce over a half-million U.S. troops into South Vietnam, to defoliate and destroy vast areas of Indochina, and to create millions of refugees in the area. The purpose of the study was to understand how and why all this happened. We hoped to lay bare for the American people the operations of the national security bureaucracy so that the nation might take steps to ensure that the same political pressures, ideological delusions, and bureaucratic impulses do not push us into another catastrophic involvement in which the United States once more seeks to project its power by killing on a grand scale. Thus, while we believe the study makes a contribution to general understanding of the operations of the U.S. national security structures, our primary interest is in the transformation of those structures.

"We approached the study with two explicit biases. The first was that the war was politically and morally wrong from the outset. That bias was completely confirmed for us in the course of the study by mountains of documentary evidence, much of which has now been made public. It is a bias which, according to recent public opinion polls, a majority of the country now shares. The second bias was that the lawlessness of the nation-state constitutes the greatest

WFO

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threat to peace and human survival. The only hope of subjecting the state to law is to hold individuals who act for the state responsible for their acts. Thus the establishment of personal responsibility of national security officials for what they do in the name of the American people is the key to any program of practical reconstruction.

"RALPH STAVINS, assisted by CANTA/PIAN, JOHN BERKOWITZ, GEORGE PIPKIN, and BRIAN EDEN, conducted more than 300 interviews in the course of the study. Those interviewed included many of the top presidential advisers to Presidents KENNEDY and JOHNSON, generals and admirals, middle-level bureaucrats who occupied strategic positions in the national security bureaucracy, and officials, military and civilian, who carried out policy in the field in Vietnam. A number of informants backed up their oral statements with documents in their possession, including informal minutes of meetings as well as portions of the official documentary record now known as 'the Pentagon papers.' Our information is drawn not only from the planning operations in the Department of Defense but also from the White House, the Department of State, and the Central Intelligence Agency. PC

"The study is being published in two volumes. Volume II, which will appear in May 1972, contains detailed accounts of the planning management of the air war, the defoliation program, the pacification program, and other military operations. It also contains an analysis of the character of the national security managers by MICHAEL MACCOBY, an account of the bureaucratic command structure by LEONARD RODBERG, an account of the resettlement program by MILTON KOTLER, and a legal analysis of criminal responsibility by RICHARD FALK. DC Volume I is in three parts: The first, an historical essay by RALPH STAVINS, is the story of how the war happened. The second, an analytical essay by RICHARD BARNET, is an explanation of why it happened. The third, an analysis of the erosion of

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WFO

Congressional power and a series of proposals by MARCUS RASKIN, is a program for demilitarizing the national security bureaucracy and introducing legal standards of individual responsibility. The emphasis throughout has been on naming names, not to be vindictive but to emphasize a fundamental point: The war in Vietnam was the product of individual decisions of identifiable men. It was more than the work of a faceless 'system' or inexorable bureaucratic process. Much less can it be ascribed to the collective guilt of the American people, less than one percent of whom knew the facts. Under the national security system as it now exists, even the people's representatives in the Congress appear powerless to oppose an Executive bent on making war abroad whenever he is prepared to mislead the public to gain support for the effort.

"We believe, however, that the basic question raised by this horrendous chapter in our history is not deception. Had the Congress been fully informed or had the people been told the truth, the destruction of Vietnam under the circumstances now on the record would still have been a crime. We are prepared to believe that many of the men who have persisted for more than a decade in destroying Indochina thought - at least when they started - that they were justified in what they were doing. But the judgment by the American people of what the planners of the war did in their name must be based not on the war managers' own rationalizations but on their acts. The world cannot afford to countenance acts of mass destruction because the men who give the orders claim to be sincere and upright men.

"The record establishes that the top civilian leadership of our country planned and carried out an aggressive war against a people who did not and could not hurt the United States. Under precedents established by the United States and imposed upon other countries, this pattern of conduct constitutes a war crime. Despite the frequent insistence



WFO

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b7E

among those who have held positions in the national security bureaucracy that all talk of war crimes committed by high officials is a form of 'witch hunt' or 'McCarthyism of the left,' that diversionary tactic is a poor defense. The enactment and enforcement of laws against war crimes can hardly be construed as McCarthyism. We believe that those who have brought dishonor to the American people by planning and executing an aggressive war must be publicly identified and barred, at least for a decade, from holding positions of public trust. Only if the American people confront the crimes that have been committed in their name and those responsible for them will it be possible to make a break with a collective past that has scarred each one of us."

45/ Under acknowledgments, the authors expressed thanks to ERWIN/KNOLL, for his help in editing the final manuscript, CONNIE/AUSTIN, LINDA/BARNES, NANCY/BEKAVAK, JANICE/CAROLL, JAN/HACKMAN, CYNTHIA/KEEN, HILARY/MADDUX, TINA/SMITH, LYNN STRONG, KATHY/TERZA, BETHANY/WEIDNER, and those individuals interviewed in preparation of this volume.

Acknowledgment is also made to Part II of this book, "The Men Who Made the War," by RICHARD J. BARNET, as being an adaptation from a forthcoming book soon to be published by Atheneum.

It is to be noted that those individuals cited in the preface and acknowledgments sections of this publication as having participated in the study are known to WFO as being associated with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) in Washington, D.C.

It is also noted that this publication is apparently identical to the one referred to in the July 22, 1971, issue of "The New York Review of Books," therein entitled, "The Secret History of Kennedy's Private War," which was mentioned by MORTON H. HALPERIN, Senior Fellow, the Brookings Institute, during an interview on 7/14/71 in captioned matter. pc

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WFO

As noted in referenced teletype, Department of Defense is currently analyzing contents of enclosed book to determine if any information set out therein is identical with classified Government documents.

F B I

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date:

9/24/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 7-16-85

ReWFOteletype to Bureau, 9/14/71, captioned MEMORIAL  
SERVICE AND PRESS CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY PEOPLE'S COALITION FOR  
PEACE AND JUSTICE (PCPJ), SUPPORTING PRISONERS OF ATTICA,  
NEW YORK, STATE PENITENTIARY, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
WDC, 9/14/71, IS-NEW LEFT. VIDEM. and WFO letter and LHM,  
7/27/71, captioned [REDACTED] (EXTREMIST) *ru*

Enclosed are six copies for the Bureau and one information  
copy for Alexandria of an LHM, dated and captioned as above, setting  
out information pertaining to a meeting held at captioned institute  
9/21/71. *u*

SA [REDACTED] observed individuals arrive and  
depart the meeting at captioned institute. SA [REDACTED]  
obtained the information concerning [REDACTED] residence and  
employment through a no-name pretext telephone call to captioned  
institute. *u*

The first confidential source denoted in the LHM  
is [REDACTED] who furnished the information to SA [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] on 9/22/71; the second confidential source is [REDACTED]  
who furnished the information to SA [REDACTED] on  
9/22/71; and the third confidential source is [REDACTED] (PROB),  
who furnished the information to [REDACTED] on  
9/22/71. *(U)*

② Bureau (ENC. 6)

(1-100-114241)

1-Alexandria (ENC. 1) (INFO)

b3 -WFO

b7E (1- [REDACTED])

JAV:cmr

(6)

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT

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b7Cb6  
b7C  
b7Db6  
b7C

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EX-100  
9-28-71  
BY W.B.D./BN REC. 924D  
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5/19/80  
CLASS. [REDACTED]  
REASON-FCIM 11  
DATE OF REVIEW 9/13/87  
413.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.

SEP 27 3 14 PM '71

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT. THAT CERTAIN EXCLUSIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116393 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

62-116464-214

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. ☒

DATE 11/4/75

MISC. DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

TO DEPT. \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It is noted that plans for the meeting at captioned institute were reported to the Bureau in referenced WFO teletype. It is also noted that the two page flyer incorporated into enclosed LHM, and which comprised the central theme of [redacted] speech at the meeting, is almost a verbatim copy of the letter directed to a prisoner at Lorton Reformatory by [redacted] as denoted in referenced WFO letter and LHM. U

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It was further announced that a follow-up meeting would be held at captioned institute on 10/5/71. U

Announcements made at the meeting concerning forthcoming demonstrations in WDC and throughout the U.S. being reported by separate communications under separate case captions. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535  
September 24, 1971

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D.C. (WDC) weekly newspaper, "The Examiner." She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States (U.S.) cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left. *u*

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems. *u*

On September 21, 1971, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed seventy-nine individuals enter the IPS at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., WDC, at approximately 7:30 p.m., and depart same about 11:22 p.m. *u*

On September 22, 1971, a confidential source advised that approximately sixty individuals were present at IPS during the evening of September 21, 1971, the stated purpose of the meeting being to organize teach-in demonstrations with regard to prison conditions and to "create a National Prison Monitoring System". The source identified [redacted] as the principal speaker at the meeting and noted that [redacted] presented a five year program on prison reform that should provide sufficient incentive to hold the movement together for a five year period. *u*

5/19/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 9/24/91

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF 01955  
DATE 7-16-80 JF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

ENCLOSURE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 01-19-2011



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535  
September 24, 1971

Title           INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
                  1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.,  
                  WASHINGTON, D.C.

Character       INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

Reference       Memorandum dated and captioned as  
                  above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

1\*

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

On June 10, 1971, a Special Agent of the FBI determined that [redacted] currently resides at [redacted], and is employed as [redacted] U

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On September 22, 1971, a second confidential source advised the meeting at IPS on September 21, 1971, held in a conference room on the second floor, commenced at approximately 7:45 p.m., and was attended by persons interested in a recent prisoner rebellion at Attica, New York, State Penitentiary. According to the source, all those present were white with the exception of five Negroes, four males and one female. Various forthcoming demonstrations in WDC and throughout the U.S. were announced and the principal speaker, who monopolized eighty per cent of the discussion time, pointed to July, 1976, as the target date for achieving their goals. He stated that if their goals are not realized by that date, another tactic would be utilized which would "resemble a Bastille". He described their goals as destruction of the present system of government in the U.S., taking over of the government by the people, and replacing it with a socialist form of government. ~~(U)~~

The principal speaker further stated the present form of civil disobedience started in 1965 and has achieved much for the movement; however, there has never been any successful planning and that extensive planning is needed in order to know "the character and form the revolution will take". He indicated that direct action is needed in regard to prisons and prisoners at the present time. He stated that now is the time to start an upheaval at the Lorton Reformatory (Lorton, Virginia), and advocated a policy of allowing prisoners to run their own prison. ~~(U)~~

The source related the meeting broke up into six workshop committees under the following headings:

1. Lorton Reformatory and prison conditions in WDC.
2. Albany, New York demonstration.
3. General future planning.
4. Upcoming national demonstration.
5. Group planning various demonstrations.
6. Coordination group. ~~(U)~~



INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source indicated the workshop committees appeared extremely disorganized and centered mainly on items discussed in the earlier meeting. ~~(S)~~ (U)

A third confidential source furnished essentially the same information on September 22, 1971, pertaining to the meeting at IPS the previous evening. This source noted that several flyers were passed out announcing various upcoming demonstrations and furnished a two page flyer entitled "Possible Alternatives to Imprisonment - Possible Project I: Abolition of Prisons," which comprised the central theme of [redacted] speech and is attached hereto. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

Possible Alternatives to Imprisonment

Possible Project I: Abolition of Prisons

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

What would be the impact of a national campaign built around the demand that by July 4, 1976, all the prisoners in all U.S. prisons must be released and the prisons abolished?

Reasons for undertaking such a campaign:

1. Intrinsically, prisons are terrible and should be closed. They are probably second only to war in inhumanity and as instruments of terror, domination and exploitation.
2. Ending prisons would require the transformation of American society: the abolition of poverty and the creation of participatory democracy and real community, at the least. For those who believe in the need for such a transformation, prisons might be an important arena or issue to raise.
3. But this has always been true: why organize now for abolition?
  - (a) Because in the last decade's general social insurgency (political, civil disobedience, drugs, etc., etc.) more middle-class people have been forced to experience the personal disastrousness of prisons--for themselves or their friends--than has been true in a very long time. They have begun to see a bit of what the poor, Blacks, etc. have been going through all this time. Thus even liberals are unusually sensitive to this issue at this moment, though most of them would also be frightened--at first--by an Abolish the Prisons campaign.
  - (b) Because the same general social insurgency has helped politicize people who have long been victims of prisons. Increasing numbers of prisoners and ex-prisoners now see their personal suffering as the result of a political reality, possibly subject to change by political action.
4. More Americans are now more awake to the possibility and desirability of basic social transformation than for a long time, and therefore fewer Americans would be likely to be totally freaked out by an Abolish the Prisons campaign that accepted and argued the necessity of basic transformation.
5. There are strong nonviolent, libertarian, decentralist, and communitarian threads in the movement which have so far had no great leading issue around which to argue, create, invent, their own work. (Except perhaps that campaigns for Black liberation in the early '60s and women's liberation now

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

have done this--but each has built-in limits on participation.) Of course nonviolent, etc. groups have worked against the war, against the draft, for counter-communities, etc.; but the war has been the only great national issue around which many many local groups have been able to create their own politics, and on that issue nonviolent, libertarian, decentralist, and communitarian thought has been drowned out by Statist thought--whether liberal or Marxist. A movement to Abolish Prisons would make anti-Statist politics much more real and definable.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Abolish Prisons" would be a way of raising issues of domestic racism, repression, and exploitation that have rarely been well raised in the last decade--only momentarily around "Free Bobby" or "Free the Chicago Conspiracy," and never in terms of our own knowledge that all prisoners are political prisoners. The jails are the domestic equivalent of Vietnam--that is, the worst continuous example of domestic domination as Vietnam is of foreign imperialism.

Blacks and poor whites are traditionally those most often jailed, but "middle-class" radicals and counter-culture people are already being jailed and can expect to be more. Thus campaigning to Abolish Prisons should open possibilities of coalition, cross-class contact, etc., that would be new. An "Abolish Prisons" campaign would not be "for others" only, but for all who engage in it. Usually, good politics comes out of being for-yourself-and-others.

The campaign could include a whole range of approaches and tactics: committees to investigate local jails, legal suits arguing all imprisonment is cruel and unusual punishment, mass demos outside jails, demands for universal amnesties from governors and the President, analysis of the nature and causes of "crime," experimental projects in dealing with "criminals" in totally different non-compulsion ways, sit-downs from inside and outside the jails, walk-ins, etc. etc. Colleges could take on the job of closing the jail nearest them--etc.

The first stunned fear we would meet from most people would have to be answered by at least a beginning discussion of alternatives--both in terms of "What kind of society doesn't need jails?" and in terms of "What other ways could be used to deal with 'crime'?" We would have five years, 'till 1976, to create alternatives.

Probably, as with the "End the War Now" campaign that began in '66, "Abolish Prisons" would help create a series of waves of lesser demands: jail reform, community control of cops, free "political" prisoners only, work-release, conjugal visits, etc. etc.

Such a campaign might help combat the increasing "repression" campaign by setting a further out "boundary" on the left by which to measure.

It would be very good for the movement to think, plan, and work on a 5-year time scale.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 9/30/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-61761) (RUC)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR  
POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire  
Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - NEW LEFT  
OO: Washington Field.

Re Washington Field letter to Bureau, 7/20/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau and Washington Field is one (1) copy of Dun and Bradstreet Business Information Report regarding Roth Properties, Inc.

The enclosure indicates that Roth Properties, Inc., is a personal holding company located in San Francisco, California. [REDACTED]

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In January, 1967, San Francisco conducted a portion of a Special Presidential Inquiry investigation concerning [REDACTED]

Therefore, [REDACTED] is undoubtedly identical to individual mentioned in referenced letter.

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San Francisco has noted that review of Special Presidential Inquiry file concerning [REDACTED] shows investigation revealed [REDACTED] was a very wealthy and highly

b6  
b7C

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 1)  
2 - Washington Field (100-46784) (RM) (Enc. 1)  
1 - San Francisco

TJP:mba  
(5)

ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/19/80

10 OCT 7 1971

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58 OCT 13 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

REFERENCE NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

62-116464-214

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. ☒

DATE 11/14/75

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.


DOH INTELL DIV.

OCT 8 6 16 PM '71

SF 100-61761

TJP:mba

respected member of the San Francisco business community.  
His civic involvement included membership on the



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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/17/80 BY [redacted]

b6  
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100-441135-95

SIC

D-U-N-S

DUN &amp; BRADSTREET, INC.

STARTED

RATING

67 11

ROTH PROPERTIES, INC.

CD 52 FEB 20 1970  
PERSONAL HOLDING  
COMPANY

1954

N Q

215 MARKET ST  
(MATSON BLDG)  
SAN FRANCISCO CALIF 94105  
TEL 415 986-6692

## SUMMARY

PAYMENTS	UNDETERMINED
EMPLOYS	15
RECORD	INCOMPLETE

b6  
b7C

## PAYMENTS

Binns reported that most purchases are for cash. Names of any suppliers were withheld.

## FINANCE

On Feb 20 1970 [redacted] declined financial information on subject concern. Previously it was reported that all stock is owned [redacted] Other details were unable to be gathered at this time.

## BANKING

Banking comment currently unavailable.

## HISTORY

This is a California corporation, incorporated June 21 1954 with authorized capital of \$25,000 consisting of 2,500 shares at \$10 par common. Permit to issue stock was granted July 27 1954 and to date paid in capital is \$4,448 for 448 shares which are distributed in undisclosed proportions amount the above mentioned principals [redacted]

[redacted] Ghiradelli Square Inc.

[redacted] is a long time employee of Roth Properties Inc and appears as

[redacted] Ghiradelli Square Inc.

[redacted] also appears as [redacted] Ghiradelli Square Inc.

[redacted] subject corporation [redacted]

[redacted] and are reported to have substantial net worth. Detailed antecedents, however, was unavailable at this date.

## RELATED CONCERN:

Ghiradelli Square Inc., 900 No Point Street, San Francisco. This is the former home of the Ghirardelli Chocolate Co and the Square is an investment of Roth Properties (Inc). There are 66 tenants in the building including a radio station, several restaurants, and a number of specialty shops. California corporation chartered July 25 1968, authorized capital \$3.0 million at \$100 par value.

[redacted] A A Luck Mining Co., also known as Boston Hill Mine, this address, reportedly is a subsidiary of subject corporation. This company was started in 1958 and operates as a producer of magniferrous iron ore, most of which is sold to Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., Inc., Silver City, New Mexico. Extent of inter-company loans, guarantees or endorsements, if any, not determined.

(CONTINUED)

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ROTH PROPERTIES, INC.  
SAN FRANCISCO CALIF

FEB 20 1970  
PAGE 2

OPERATION

Operates as service company for management of investments and holdings  
[redacted] Principal holdings managed are personal  
homes, the title estate of this Peninsula known as the Sifole Estates  
and the Luck Mine in Silver City, New Mexico. Employs 15 including the  
officers. LOCATION: Rents office space in multi story building located  
in downtown district. Premises are orderly.  
2-24 (121 125) D1

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© DUN &amp; BRADSTREET, INC.

STARTED

RATING

67 11

ROTH PROPERTIES INC

AD 52 JAN 14 1971  
PERSONAL HOLDING  
COMPANY

N Q

215 MARKET ST  
SAN FRANCISCO CALIF 94105  
TEL 415 986-6692

## PAYMENTS

Names of suppliers withheld.

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## CHANGES

On Jan 14 1971 [redacted] said the following changes have taken place. [redacted] is no longer [redacted] [redacted] has taken this position. Full antecedents are not available. All other information, including information on related concerns was declined as per corporate policy.

## BANKING

Balances average low five and moderate four. Bank reports relations are satisfactory.  
1-14 (138 3) D-1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 10/7/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

Re WFO airtel and LHM, 9/24/71, captioned as above. u

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above, setting out observations and interpretive information furnished by a confidential source relating to the role taken by captioned organization in radical politics. u

The confidential source denoted in the LHM is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted] on 9/29/71. u

It is noted that the three page attachment to enclosed LHM, entitled "Proposed Basic Strategy of IPS Prison Project", is apparently a follow-up to [redacted] proposal for the abolition of prisons, as reported in referenced airtel and LHM. u

③ Bureau (Enc. 6)

(1-100-114243) [redacted]

2- WFO

(1 [redacted])

JAV:ww  
(5)

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16 OCT 7 1971

EX-102

AGENCY Bureau of Prisons  
REQ REC'D 10-15-71  
DATE FORW. by RKS  
100-447935-924D  
5 OCT 20 1971  
2 cc aeroxed

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/19/81

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5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

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100 - 114241 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEM. 10/12/71

OCT 12 3 31 PM '71

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

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SSC \_\_\_\_\_ HSC 62-116464-214  
ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ DEL. ✓ DATE 11/14/75  
MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

October 7, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, Northwest  
Washington, D.C.

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page twenty-two of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D.C. (WDC) weekly newspaper, "The Examiner". She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

On September 29, 1971, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, related the following interpretive information on the role taken by IPS in radical politics:

The popular impression of IPS as the "think tank" of radical United States politics is justified. It has taken and continues to take a major role in the anti-war movement and calls for disarmament. While IPS people see themselves as leaders of radical thought, they appear to be leaders without a popular constituency. Radicals, liberals

Attachment 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/19/80 BY [redacted]



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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

et al will attend a meeting convened by IPS, but then quickly realize that the meeting is rigidly controlled by IPS personnel and that IPS ideas are not to be rejected. It would appear that the entire IPS apparatus enjoys the position of radical leadership, but the academic direction taken by its personnel will always isolate them from popular support. The IPS is very conscious of its lacking in staff personnel who are prepared to follow through on projects, and it appears to be an organization of "all chiefs and no Indians".

The source has made a number of contacts with persons connected with IPS during the preceding three month period, and from conversations with these contacts gained the impression that the Institute no longer can maintain the image of being a liberal front because too many congressmen are aware of its radical status. However, precautions are taken to negate public identification with radical movements and activities that could result in the loss of the organization's tax exempt status. The source learned that a number of Foundations and Institutions are sources of funds for the IPS, and one of the major financial donors is reportedly "the largest stockholder of Xerox". The source also determined that the IPS has no staff policies, with hiring done on the basis of "who you know" and whether or not existing employees are "comfortable" working with a new person. There are no regular work hours, but the Institute closes for business promptly at 5:30 p.m. each day and is not open on Saturdays or Sundays. It has been indicated to the source that "subsistence" wages are paid to staff personnel, but the life styles of some Fellows of the Institute would appear to support the thought that their salaries are at least comparable with the academic community.

Concerning current projects and activities of the IPS and its staff personnel, the source made the following observations:

[redacted] Richard Jackson Barnett [redacted]  
[redacted] head that segment of the organization's activities designed to divert government spending from military to social needs, with such endeavors being coordinated

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

with United States Senator William Proxmire and Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier, both of Wisconsin.

The Federal Employees for Peace (FEP), an anti-war group comprised of United States Government employees headquartered in WDC appears to have close contacts with the IPS through [redacted] the aforementioned [redacted] and utilizes office space and Xerox equipment of the Institute.

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The IPS is, or has been, associated with the activities of the New Party, self-described as having been formed to provide a radical alternative to the existing political system; the Washington Statehood Party, a political-activist group aimed at achieving statehood for WDC; the People's Law Institute, a group organized to provide legal assistance to radical movements; the (Charles) Evers for Governor of Mississippi Campaign; and the collective/commune movement.

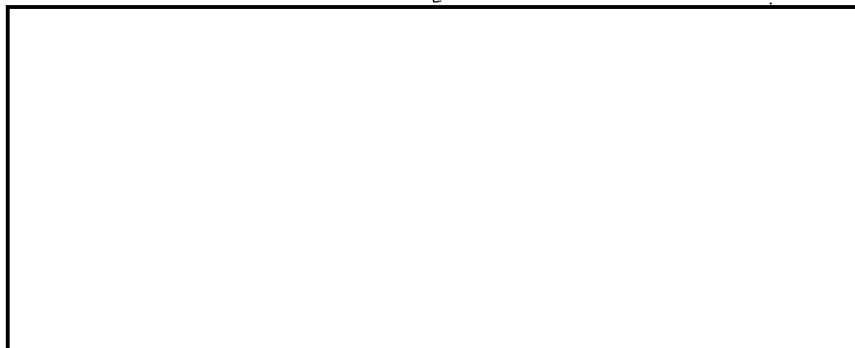
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] is mainly involved in the Libertarian Movement.

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In that regard, he makes tapes for radio broadcast purposes espousing the thought of linking right and left wing political groups for political action.

[redacted] are presently involved in an IPS campaign to "abolish prisons".

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

A copy of a memorandum entitled "Proposed Basic Strategy of IPS Prison Project", authored by Joann Malone and Arthur Waskow, was obtained by the source and is attached hereto.



## Proposed Basic Strategy of IPS Prison Project

1. Creation of 2 working groups--1 in D.C., 1 national--joining prisoner and non-prisoner groups. ~~UNIDENTIFIED~~
2. Creation of educational packet/campaign on reality of prisons and on inadequacy of "reform."
3. Creation of educational packet on "alternatives" and abolition.
4. Study of political functions of prisons and "cracks" or "contradictions" causing present and possible growing insurgency, leading to agreement on an organizing strategy.
- \*5. Continuous reexamination of the methodology of creating a "5-year-plan". Does this work? How? Problems? In effect, self-study of the project itself as a social invention.

### Organization Needs

- 1) Political analysis: What are the political functions of prisons in present U.S. society?
- 2) Psycho-political understanding: What are the roots of the question "What's the alternative?" What does the public think a prison is, should be? What are the fears, triumphs, etc., experienced by non-prisoners as they contemplate prisons and the end of prisons? Are the stakes different among different classes, sexes, ages, ethno, regions? How do we get at this? --Maccoby-style psycho-survey? Other means?
- 3) Understanding of the situation among prisoners, ex-prisoners, "pre-prisoners". Change in consciousness? Increased organization efforts? Increased fear of prisons in certain parts of population? Etc. How do we get at this? (It seems essential to have strong ties with people who have prison experience.)

Crucial issue: What does "prison" mean to non-prisoners and prisoners? Are there irreducible minima for each--one desirable minimum, one hated minimum? Do these minima coincide, overlap, diverge? E.G., if "prison" to outsiders meant "Nobody I want to keep in can leave, and that's fine," and to insiders means "Nobody I want to invite can come, and that's terrible," the two would not necessarily describe incompatible desires.

- 4) Why a prison campaign now? (Analysis of present mood, structure and interests of social-change insurgents in U.S. society.) What kind of movement now exists?

What effects would a prison-abolition campaign have on reform efforts? On repression efforts? (Inside and outside prisons.)

### The Reality:

Vivid direct reports.

Statistics: class origins of prisoners, guards, recidivism.

Power-structure analysis of prison authorities: class and institutional backgrounds, trajectories, process of appointments, political maneuvering, etc.

Regulations on parole, internal government and behavior, etc.

### Examination of "prison reform"

Critique of "rehabilitation" model and similar reforms (draw on AFSC, Mitford, similar studies).

Examination of proposals for "radical reform"--collective bargaining, prisoner participation in governing prisons, Bill of Rights, political amnesty, ending of incarceration before trial and discretion, outside limit of 10 cumulative years that anyone could remain in prison during a lifetime.

### The "Alternatives"

Reports on situation in Scandinavia, Holland, Israel, Cuba, China, Yugoslavia, Tanzania.

Historical reports: Australia, Georgia, anarchist Catalonia, others?

Anthropological reports: other sanctions against "dangerous" deviance? i.e., What did the Ibos and Hopis do about thieves and murderers?

"Utopian" literature, proposals, projects.

What would be the means of dealing with "dangerous deviants" and with the old ruling class if there were a radical transformation of American society? i.e., What would we do after the revolution? What would be the political functions of "no prisons," the political effect of abolishing them?

### Project's goals:

1) Bibliography and packet of pamphlets, fact sheets, tapes, films, etc. on "alternatives": the Debs-Goldman Library.

2) A strategy of answering the question? Perhaps a three-part answer:

a. No alternative at all is better than present situation (both for prisoners and non-prisoners).

b. Real alternative is transformation of society.

c. In the meantime, creation of alternatives during struggle for abolition: possible models?

3) Creation of ongoing research/action groups.

4) Developing better channels for using this information and relating prisoner organizing to "outsider" anti-prison organizing....new "learn-ins," central newsletter, collectives working on prison contact????

5) Creation of a national group whose main thrust is a prison abolition movement.

### The Uses of a "5-Year Plan"

Problems and opportunities in focusing a study/action/social invention

campaign for a 5-year-period.

If desirable, how create one? Alternative structures: national coalition; organizers cadre groups; loose network of local groups; etc. Relation between prisoner organizations and outsiders?

How deal with necessary revisions in Plan, unfreezing it in light of experience and events? How analyze impacts of elections, uprisings, inflations, depressions, etc. etc.

---

Remember, "There will be no means of detecting when that last right is gone--you'll only know when they start shooting you."

George L. Jackson

Void where prohibited,

*Art + Joann / sc*  
Arthur & Joann

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 9/24/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF CLASS  
DATE 7-16-84

REC 12

GR 11-3

Re Bureau airtel, 7/9/71, authorizing WFO to expend  
\$375 per month for 90 days for the rental of an observation  
post on the Institute For Policy Studies (IPS). (U)

It is to be noted that, although lookout facilities  
were secured immediately upon receipt of authorization,  
operation of same was not effected until 7/21/71 due to  
necessity of installing technical equipment. (U)

During the period 7/21/71 - 9/17/71, personnel  
manning this lookout have observed approximately 45 individuals  
who apparently comprise the daily working staff at captioned  
institute, 12 of whom listed below are included on the Security  
Index or Reserve Index at WFO:

[redacted] (Bufile 100-484040; WFOfile  
100-45298), SI subject, Priority I.

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RICHARD J. BARNET (Bufile [redacted]  
100-45302), SI Subject, Priority I.

WFOfile

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(U)

② ICC RM 924 9/24/71  
② Bureau  
1- WFO

REC 12

100-447935-9

JAV:ss  
(3)

CLASS. &amp; EXT. BY

REASON-FCIM II

DATE OF REVIEW 9/24/91

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Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

AIRTTEL TO WFO  
 7/21/71, 7/27/71, 8/10/71, 8/17/71, 8/24/71, 9/1/71, 9/8/71, 9/15/71, 9/22/71, 9/29/71, 10/6/71, 10/13/71, 10/20/71, 10/27/71, 11/3/71, 11/10/71, 11/17/71, 11/24/71, 12/1/71, 12/8/71, 12/15/71, 12/22/71, 12/29/71, 1/5/72, 1/12/72, 1/19/72, 1/26/72, 2/2/72, 2/9/72, 2/16/72, 2/23/72, 2/29/72, 3/6/72, 3/13/72, 3/20/72, 3/27/72, 4/3/72, 4/10/72, 4/17/72, 4/24/72, 5/1/72, 5/8/72, 5/15/72, 5/22/72, 5/29/72, 6/5/72, 6/12/72, 6/19/72, 6/26/72, 7/3/72, 7/10/72, 7/17/72, 7/24/72, 7/31/72, 8/7/72, 8/14/72, 8/21/72, 8/28/72, 9/4/72, 9/11/72, 9/18/72, 9/25/72, 10/2/72, 10/9/72, 10/16/72, 10/23/72, 10/30/72, 11/6/72, 11/13/72, 11/20/72, 11/27/72, 12/4/72, 12/11/72, 12/18/72, 12/25/72, 1/1/73, 1/8/73, 1/15/73, 1/22/73, 1/29/73, 2/5/73, 2/12/73, 2/19/73, 2/26/73, 3/5/73, 3/12/73, 3/19/73, 3/26/73, 4/2/73, 4/9/73, 4/16/73, 4/23/73, 4/30/73, 5/7/73, 5/14/73, 5/21/73, 5/28/73, 6/4/73, 6/11/73, 6/18/73, 6/25/73, 7/2/73, 7/9/73, 7/16/73, 7/23/73, 7/30/73, 8/6/73, 8/13/73, 8/20/73, 8/27/73, 9/3/73, 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b3  
b6  
b7C  
b7E

A new employee, one [redacted] was identified through lookout coverage and subsequent check of Michigan Department of Motor Vehicle records. WFO indices negative re [redacted] and lead is outstanding for Detroit to develop background data. ~~(S)~~ (U)

WFO 100-46784

During this same period, 46 leads have been set out for other field offices to identify individuals observed frequenting IPS and/or the registered owners of vehicles noted to be utilized by these visitors. There are in addition to 68 such leads handled by WFO and, upon receipt of pertinent background and identifying data, this information is being reviewed for any subsequent investigation deemed advisable. (U)

[redacted] and both of whom are suspects in the EASTCON investigation, was identified through lookout photographic coverage as a visitor to IPS on 8/10/71. WFO Key Activist [redacted] (Bufile 100-443916; WFOfile 100-47172) was also afforded coverage through this lookout on 8/9/71. (U)

b6  
b7C

Information previously furnished to WFO determined that a twelve session class, "Anarchism and Marxism", sponsored by the W. E. B. DuBois School of Marxist Studies (Bufile 100-463084; WFOfile 100-52857) would be held at captioned institute on Wednesday evenings, commencing 7/14/71, has been corroborated by lookout coverage. Identification of participants in this class is being referred to substantive case files at WFO. (U)

As the Bureau is aware, investigation in the MC LEK case (Bufile [redacted] WFOfile [redacted]) has developed information indicative that individuals associated with captioned organization may have been in possession of the classified "Pentagon Papers" or "McNamara Study" prior to publication of same by the "New York Times" newspaper. Boston teletype dated 8/18/71. MC LEK caption. reported that [redacted]

[redacted] advised that day he received a telephone call on 7/23/71 from [redacted]

b3  
b6  
b7C  
b7D  
b7E

WFO 100-46784

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
\_\_\_\_\_ It is interesting to  
note that a photograph of \_\_\_\_\_ obtained upon his departure  
from IPS on 7/24/71 through lookout coverage, depicts him

b6  
b7C  
b7D

(U)

Coverage through lookout facilities was also afforded  
a meeting held at IPS during the evening of 9/21/71 in support  
of the prisoners of Attica, New York State Penitentiary.  
Seventy-nine persons were noted to be in attendance at this  
meeting, details of which are being reported under separate  
communication. ~~(U)~~ (U)

In view of expanded investigation of captioned  
institute as pertains to MC LEK case and anticipated correlation  
of data obtained through lookout coverage with that developed  
from subpoenaed telephone toll records of IPS, it is recommended  
that Bureau authority be granted for WFO to continue lookout  
coverage on IPS at an expenditure of \$375 per month. ~~(U)~~ (U)

10/1/71

Airtel

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 -

b6  
b7C

To: SAC, WFO (100-46784)

From: Director, FBI (100-447935) — *REL 12*

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
IS - NEW LEFT

Reurlet and airtel 9/23/71 and 9/24/71, respectively,  
both captioned as above.

Bureau authority is granted for WFO to expend  
\$375 per month for the period 10/1/71 through 12/31/71 for  
the rental of an observation post on captioned facility.  
Two weeks prior to the expiration of this authority, submit  
your recommendation regarding the continuation of this lookout  
coverage, including information showing tangible results. *(U)*

Continue to use utmost discretion in the employment  
of this lookout and take no action which will result in  
embarrassment to the Bureau. *(U)*

1 - Voucher-Statistical Section

WGD:jlm

(8)

NOTE:

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, E. S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

See memorandum R. L. Shackelford to Mr. E. S. Miller  
dated 9/30/71, captioned as above, prepared by WGD:jlm.

5/19/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/1/91

b6

b7C

EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



Cough \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoe \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Director \_\_\_\_\_  
 Chief Clerk \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoe \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Director \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Chief Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

RECEIVED  
 FBI  
 OCT 4 12 23 PM '71  
 VOUCHER STATISTICAL  
 SECTION

OCT 7 10 55 AM '71

REC'D-CALL  
FBI

OCT 4 3 26 AM '71

**SENSTUDY 75**

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
 SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.  
 NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
 THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
 MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC		HSC	
ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DATE 11/14/75

MISQ: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
 TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
 DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

OCT 8 1 11 PM '71

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - [redacted]

DATE: 9/30/71

FROM : R. L. Shackelford *S*  
*cwt*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: *0* INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Miller, E.S.	✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Ponder	_____
Mr. Bates	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

## PURPOSE:

To request authority for WFO to continue expenditure of \$375 per month for the period 10/1/71 through 12/31/71 for the rental of space for an observation post on the IPS. *(u)*

## BACKGROUND:

Memorandum dated 7/8/71, captioned as above, noted that IPS has been characterized as the "Think Factory" of the New Left which helps train extremists who incite violence and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. In January, 1971, the Director approved an expansion of this investigation beyond contacts with established sources. *(u)*

In memorandum 7/8/71, authority was requested and the Director approved that WFO expend \$375 per month for a 90-day period for rental of space for an observation post on IPS. Principal IPS members are subjects of security investigations and past activities of these individuals have included contact with known Soviet bloc intelligence agents, research on security procedures used by American industries, travel to North Vietnam and conferences with North Vietnamese officials, and support of disruptive demonstrations. IPS officials are reportedly part of a research network to Paris and North Vietnam according to statements made by [redacted] an organizer of recent militant demonstrations in Washington, D. C. *(u)*

Enclosure

100-447935

WGD:jlm  
(5) *SW*

REC 12

b6  
b7C

Classified by [redacted] Category 3 CONTINUED - OVER  
Exempt from automatic declassification  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

62 OCT 20 1971

REC'D DOM INTELL DIV  
EDWARD S. MILLER  
OCT 19 1 55 PM '71  
SEP 30 2 24 PM '71

RECEIVED-TOLSON  
F B I

SEP 30 5 27 PM '71

TOLSON  
B I

OCT

43

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE 62-113395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

<u>SSC</u>		<u>HSC</u>	
ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DATE <u>11/14/75</u>

62-116464-217

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

REC'D-CALLAHAN  
RECEIVED  
SEP 30 5 38 PM 1971  
OCT 1 10 22 AM 1971  
LEGAL COUNSEL

3 17 PM '71  
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TOLSON

REC'D DOM INTELL DIV  
OCT 18 6 02 PM '71  
LEGAL COUNSEL  
OCT 18 11 48 AM 1971

REC'D - ROSEN  
EDWARD S. MILLER  
RECEIVED  
OCT 18 1 38 PM '71  
REC'D DOM INTELL DIV

OCT 1 10 22 AM 1971  
OCT 1 1 35 PM '71

10-19  
ck

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

Several Bureau fugitives, two of whom were involved in a bank robbery and a third, a known Weatherman, under indictment for violation of Antiriot Laws, had IPS contacts. U

Investigation has also revealed IPS may have had access to a classified U.S. Department of Defense study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, publicly alleged to have been made available to the news media by Daniel Ellsberg. U

OBSERVATIONS:

During the period 7/21/71 to 9/7/71 while operating this lookout, WFO has observed approximately 45 individuals who apparently comprise the daily work staff of IPS, 12 of whom are subjects of prior Bureau investigations. An individual who is a suspect in the EASTCON investigation was observed visiting IPS as was another individual who is a suspect in the MC LEK investigation. X (U)

WFO paid one-half month's rent for July and a full month's rent for August and September. X (U)

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel be sent to WFO authorizing expenditure of \$375 per month for rental of lookout space on IPS for the period 10/1/71 to 12/31/71. X (U)

WFO

WFO

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gm  
✓  
WBS

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EM

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gm

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535  
October 29, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D. C. (WDC), weekly newspaper, "The Examiner." She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

On October 13, 1971, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past provided a copy of

b7D

*SUBJECT ORGANIZATION*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/27/82 BY

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

FIELD OFFICES

BY ROUTING

(S) OF

DATE

*Al Chan*  
*7-16-80 JC*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I

~~Excluded from automatic~~

~~downgrading and declassification~~

*100-447734-5*

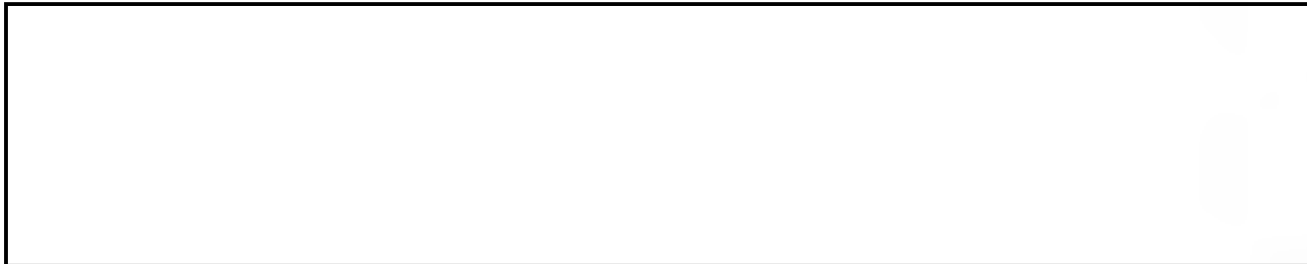
ENCLOSURE

*Declassify*  
*1/17/75*  
*7225*  
*on 1/19/77*  
*pd/bce*  
*upheld declass*  
*5/20/80*

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: **9/30/71**

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile : )

Attention :

b3  
b7E

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

<b>Title</b>  <b>PRAXIS CORPORATION</b> <b>TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA</b>	<b>Character</b> <b>FPC</b> <b>Reference</b> <b>WFO letter to Bureau</b> <b>dated 7/22/71</b>
--	---

Enclosed are the following communications received from the  (U)

**Original and two copies of  letter dated 9/20/71,**  
**together with one copy of attachment thereto**

Remarks:

*Shel*, b7D  
(U)

Classified by   
 Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF *UNRS*  
DATE 5/30/80

CLASS. & EXT. B   
 REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2,3  
 DATE OF REVIEW 9/30/91

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Dissemination

- ☐ May be made as received  
☐ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure

b7D

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.**

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

Status with this office:

- ☒ RUC  
☐ Pending

**2 - Bureau (Enc. 4)**  
**MLI:cae**  
**(2)**

**61 NOV 4 1971**

ENCLOSURE

Do not write in space below	
<b>100-449738</b>  <b>201 NOV 1 1971</b>	<b>ORIGINAL FILED IN</b>

10/28/71

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 12-20-2011

AIRTEL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

MC LEK  
(Bufile [redacted])  
(WFO [redacted])

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 1/3/72

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(Bufile 100-447935)  
(WFO 100-46784)

Classified by [redacted]  
Exempt from GDS, Category [redacted]  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

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On 10/27/71, [redacted]

[redacted] furnished the following  
information. WFO accepts information from [redacted] but does  
not encourage him. He is of questionable character. (u)

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On 10/25-26/71, four representatives of the Institute  
for Policy Studies, [redacted]

[redacted]  
at which time they made arrangements to purchase [redacted]  
[redacted]

On 10/27/71, [redacted] advised he had [redacted]

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3 - Bureau  
1 - WFO

(1 - 139 [redacted])  
(1 - 66-IPSLO)

JJ:teb

7)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 1/3/72  
DECLASSIFIED BY 6047

NOV 2 1971

NOV 19 1971

Declass upheld  
5/20/80 LPI YSK/DP

ORIGINAL FILED IN



WFO

100-46784

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A source of the MPD has advised that IPS believes its office is under surveillance. [REDACTED]

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In view of the accumulated indications of paranoia on behalf of IPS officials, WFO is discontinuing its stationary lookout on IPS temporarily. *SL 4*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 10/29/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-73487)(P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IS - SUBVERSIVE  
(OO:WFO)

ReWFO let to Bureau 7/20/71; and interoffice lets -  
from WFO to Los Angeles 8/16, 10/6 and 10/6/71; and LA lets  
to WFO 9/7 and 10/20/71; and Sacramento let to WFO and LA  
dated 10/19/71.

Indices of the LA division contain no information  
identifiable with the Leonard Sperry Research Center Fund,  
9198 Cordell Drive, Los Angeles. Inquiry at Dun and  
Bradstreet, Los Angeles 8/5/71, by IC [REDACTED]  
revealed no information identifiable with this organization.

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For the information of the Bureau and WFO there are  
enclosed one copy each of a five page Dun and Bradstreet (D&B)  
Analytical Report covering the Janss Corporation (subsidiary  
of Janss Investment Corporation, Thousand Oaks, California)  
and the Los Robles Greens, of the same address [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]. As noted on page three  
of the D&B report the total assets of this corporation varied  
between 34 million and 29 million dollars during the period  
from December 31, 1965 to September 1, 1967.

Indices of the LA division contain numerous references  
to [REDACTED] of Santa Barbara, California, most of which  
information has been previously furnished the Bureau. A sum-  
mary of this available information will be forwarded direct  
to WFO under separate cover shortly.

- ENCLOSURE REC-106 100-447935-100
- ② - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM) ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
2 - WFO (100-46784) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - Los Angeles

(5) GGB

7 NOV 3 1971

REC-41

ST-103  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/22/80 BY [REDACTED]

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54 NOV 12 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

# Dun & Bradstreet ANALYTICAL REPORT

SIC D-U-N-S © DUN & BRADSTREET, INC. STARTED RATING

67 11

04-523-8862

A AD 53 MAR 16 1971

JANSS CORPORATION  
(Subsidiary of Janss  
Investment Corporation,  
Thousand Oaks, Calif.)  
LOS ROBLES GREENS

INVESTMENT  
HOLDING  
COMPANY

1962

N Q

100-104 THOUSAND OAKS BLVD  
THOUSAND OAKS CALIF 91360  
TEL 805 495-2131

## SUMMARY

PAYMENTS PPT  
EMPLOYS ICO  
RECORD CLEAR

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## PAYMENTS

Due to the nature of this business, purchases are from a very few sources and in moderate amounts ordinarily. The following responses were received in a trade survey completed Feb 17 1971:

HC	OWE	P DUE TERMS	FEB 17 1971	SOLD
2000			Ppt	
500		8 10 EOM	Ppt	
250				

## HIGHLIGHTS

This company is a subsidiary of a family-controlled parent organization which began in the real estate investment field in the 19th Century. On a consolidated basis, the organization is one of the larger of its types in this area, and has been associated with some prominent development activities over the years. The consolidated net worth of the parent company has been in low eight figure area. It has had available substantial secured and unsecured bank credit and has made active use of the facility. The parent company has not, however, released details financial statements precluding a close analysis of the consolidated position.

The last financial statement released by the subject was dated Sept 1 1967 at which time its net worth was \$4,323,000. Its principal assets comprised rental and operating properties, land and work in process, carried at cost; highly conservative relative to present-day valuations. Liabilities consisted mainly of loans, both secured and unsecured.

The last financial data furnished by the company was during an interview with [redacted] on Mar 13 1969 when he estimated that the company's annual revenues approximated \$5,000,000 and the net worth of this corporation approximated \$5 million also. [redacted] also indicated that business was conducted on a profitable basis and maintaining a sound financial condition.

In Aug 1969, the parent company redeemed approximately 40% of its outstanding capital stock which was held by Janss Foundation. Concurrently, Janss Corporation paid a substantial dividend to the parent company in the form of land holdings. As a consequence of these transactions, the Janss Corporation has existed primarily to hold title to rental properties situated in the Conejo Valley and Thousand Oaks area principally. It is also a general partner in a partnership formed in Aug 1969 under the name, Janss Development Co. The other partner is J. F. Investment Corp., a wholly owned subsidiary of Janss Foundation Trust. The partnership owns acreage in the Thousand Oaks area, scheduled for sale to developers. Payment of the substantial dividend referred to in Aug 1969 by Janss

(CONTINUED)

THIS REPORT MAY NOT BE REPRODUCED IN WHOLE OR IN PART IN ANY FORM OR MANNER WHATSOEVER. It is furnished by DUN & BRADSTREET, INC. in STRICT CONFIDENCE and is intended for your exclusive use as a basis for credit, insurance, marketing and other business decisions and for no other purpose. These precautions are for your own protection - your attorney will confirm the seriousness of this warning. DUN & BRADSTREET, INC. does not guarantee the correctness of this report and shall not be liable for any loss or damage by the neglect or other act or failure to act on the part of said company and/or its agents in procuring, collecting or communicating any information. GRA-1 620110

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [redacted]

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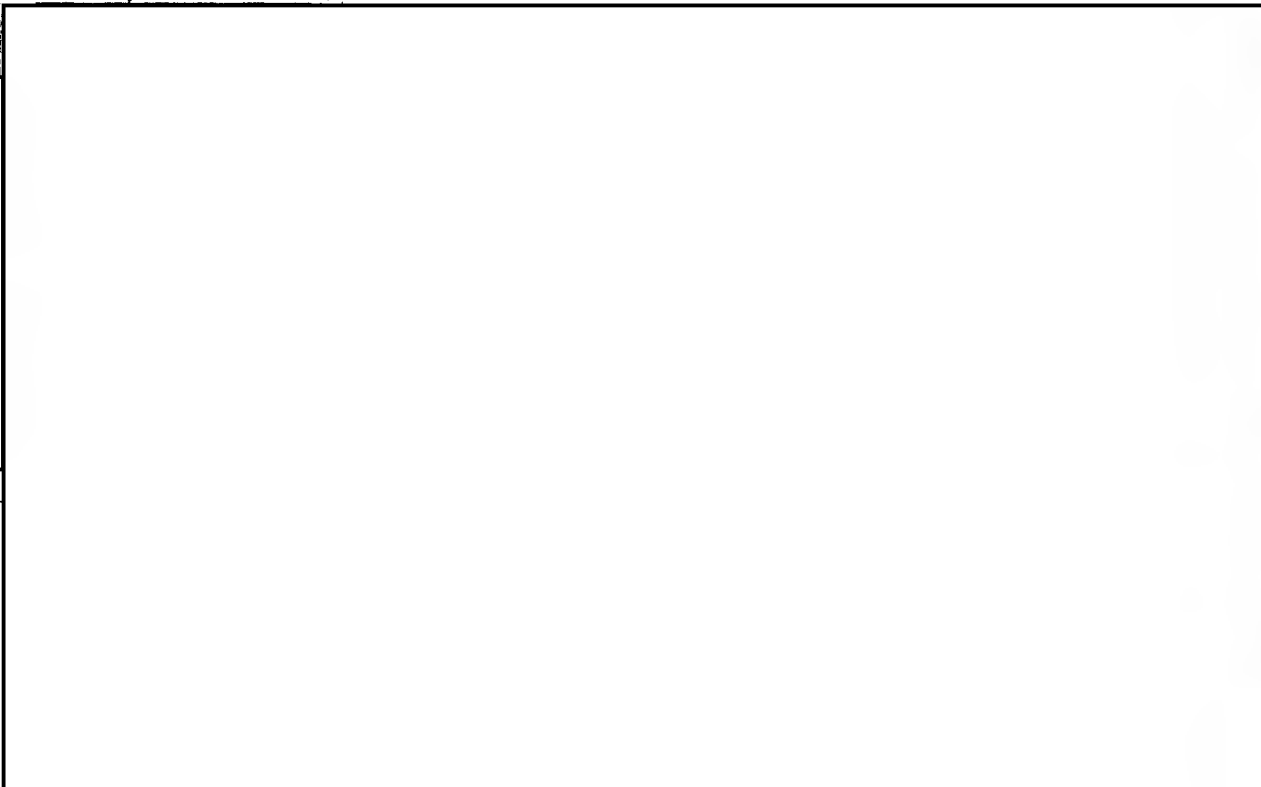
JANSS CORPORATION  
THOUSAND OAKS CALIF.

A CD Page 3  
9-16-70

b6  
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MANAGEMENT BACKGROUND



JANSS CORPORATION  
THOUSAND OAKS CALIF.

A CD Page 2  
9-16-70

HISTORY Incorporated: Delaware, June 14 1962.  
Authorized Capital Stock: 5,000,000 shares, par value \$1 per share common.

Outstanding Capital Stock: 3,016,671 shares, of which 2,828,329 shares held by Janss Investment Corporation, 128,342 shares owned by Las Posas Corporation.

This corporation was organized by the Janss Investment Corporation which transferred some of its assets to this newly organized subsidiary in exchange for capital stock.

Headquarters of this business were formerly maintained at 1 West Thousand Oaks Boulevard, before that were at 10889 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles.

A subsidiary, James Hawaii Corporation, was dissolved in 1965.

Feb 29 1968, company sold for cash and notes, facilities it owned and operates at Sun Valley, Idaho, to Sun Valley Company, Inc., a corporation [redacted]  
[redacted] Selling price has not been released.

Effective Apr 1 1969, all of the outstanding capital stock of Janss Realty Company was acquired by [redacted] at that time an official of Janss Corporation.

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OPERATION This is one of three subsidiaries of Janss Investment Corporation, Thousand Oaks, which owns 95% of its outstanding capital stock. The parent company is a Delaware corporation formed Dec 18 1928, and has large real estate and security investments. The inter-company relations between parent and subsidiaries include loans and advances, and at times inter-company guarantees of debts by the parent. No general guarantees or endorsements have been reported.

Function: An investment holding company primarily holding title to rental properties situated in the Thousand Oaks area and Conejo Valley sections of Ventura County, California, primarily. Is also a general partner in Janss Development Company which holds title to acreage in the same area.

A small contribution to total revenue is derived from the conduct of a public golf course at Thousand Oaks, operated under the trade style, Los Robles Greens, and a bowling establishment.

Employees: 100.

Facilities: Occupies space in a building situated in a commercial district owned by an affiliate, where the property is in excellent condition.

SUBSIDIARIES Subject has one subsidiary, Janss Potrero Corporation. It is wholly owned. The subsidiary is a California corporation chartered Nov 12 1962, has headquarters at this address. It was formerly engaged in real estate development but is now inactive. There have been no inter-company relations between parent and subsidiary such as mercantile transactions, inter-company loans, guarantees or endorsements reported, nor has a financial statement on the subsidiary been released.

(CONTINUED)

JANSS CORPORATION  
THOUSAND OAKS CALIF.

A CD Page 1  
9-16-70

SUPPLEMENTAL DATA The last statement released by this company was dated Sept 1 1967 and consolidated subsidiary accounts. Statement was not audited but was prepared by company staff. It is summarized as follows:

	Sept 1 1967
Total Assets	\$ 29,802,000
Long Term Liabilities	11,093,000
Common Stock	3,607,000
Capital Surplus	2,083,000
Deficit Earned Surplus	1,367,000

The principal assets comprised land and work in process carried at \$8,263,000 and investments carried at \$16,158,000. Land and work in progress comprised raw land, land in process of development, and subdivided lots carried at \$5,554,000 and the remainder improvements in process.

Investments comprised investments in partnerships and joint ventures of \$1,192,000; investment in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Corporation stock at cost, \$2,184,000; investment in rental and operating property carried at \$12,782,000 and stated at cost investment in the properties below market value. Rental properties and operating properties are shown after depreciation. Rental properties included some 50 acres under lease to others at Canejo. Operating properties included Sun Valley, Idaho, resort; Los Robles Greens, a golf course at Thousand Oaks; Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer stock was taken in connection with the transaction involving sale of acreage to MGM in Aug 1967.

Under the liabilities, notes payable of \$6,481,000 represent demand obligations owing the parent.

Other liabilities of \$505,000 represent deposits and advances.

Long Term Debt: At Sept 1 1967, the long term liabilities in the amount of \$11,093,000 comprised the following:

- (1) Notes payable rental and operating properties \$7,848,000, secured by real estate; current portion \$363,000 due in one year.
- (2) Trust deed notes relating to land and improvements \$1,835,000 and unsecured notes of \$356,000, current portion \$635,000.
- (3) Notes payable secured by notes receivable \$1,054,000.

Gross revenues for eight months to Sept 1 1967 were in excess of \$6,800,000 and there was a net income of \$1,337,000 for the period.

Last figures obtained on the parent company were found in outside sources and are summarized as follows:

	Dec 31 1965 (Parent)
Total Assets	\$ 34,371,000
Long Term Debt	15,934,000
Net Worth	16,380,000

The above information does not give effect to changes referred to under "Highlights" section which transactions at Aug 1969 resulted in significant changes in the financial position of the subject and its parent.

(CONTINUED)

JANSS CORPORATION  
THOUSAND OAKS CALIF.

A AD Page 2  
3-16-71

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HIGHLIGHTS Corporation resulted in a contraction in the capital base. The initial  
(Cont'd) starting capital of Janss Development Co. was \$8,000,000.

CURRENT On Mar 15 1970 [REDACTED] declined to release  
current financial details but indicated that the business is being conducted  
on a favorable basis, has a satisfactory condition and has undergone no  
substantial change in the recent past.

Banking

Relations have been maintained with a Los Angeles depository, where sub-  
stantial balances have been carried. Loans have been granted for short-term  
purposes and also on a long-term basis. Most borrowing has been unsecured,  
ranging in seven figure proportions. Construction loans have also been  
granted the company for its requirements.

3-23-71 (102 915) E4380 3C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/80

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100-147935-100



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, WFO (100-46784)

DATE: 10/22/71

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-39531) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
IS - NEW LEFT

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Re WFO letter to Boston dated 9/7/71.

SC [redacted] 10/5/71 determined from the records of the Massachusetts Registry of Motor Vehicles, 100 Nashua St., Boston, that 1971 Massachusetts license [redacted] is registered to [redacted]. This is for a 1968 Red Mercury convertible.

[redacted] address is [redacted]. This was effective [redacted].

The above car was purchased in [redacted] at [redacted].

There was no record for [redacted] showing that he had a Massachusetts driver's license.

The driver's license book shows that a [redacted] has a license. His address is [redacted]. He was born [redacted] and is [redacted] tall.

Under date of 6/21/71, Boston submitted an airtel and LHM entitled, "May Day Collective Conference, IS - PCPJ." Copies of this were directed to WFO.

In the above mentioned LHM it is set forth that among those who attended the May Day Collective at Needmore Indiana on May 21-23, 1971 was [redacted]. address is not too clear but appears to be [redacted].

2-Bureau  
2-Boston  
KPW/dn  
(4)

100 924 D  
WFO 12 N

REC-61 / 100

16 OCT 26 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [redacted]

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54 NOV 8 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on

Savings Plan

BS 100-39531

Boston has no information available which will definitely identify the latter with the owner of the red Mercury.

FBI

CLASSIFIED DIVISIONS FINALIZED  
BY OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (OSG)

Date 10/28/71

DATE: 4-13-87

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intext or code

Transmit the following in

AIRTEL

5-4-83  
Classified by

Declassify on: OADR  
Appeal # 83-0024

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 7-13-87

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 10/28/71

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of an LHM,  
dated and captioned as above, setting out details pertaining  
to purchase by captioned institute of equipment designed to  
detect electronic surveillances of telephone conversations.

The LHM is classified "Confidential" because the  
unauthorized disclosure of information denoted therein could  
prove prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.

[redacted] furnished the information tele-  
phonically to SA [redacted] on 10/26/71. Concerning  
it is noted that WFO letter 5/27/70 captioned

[redacted] sets forth information concerning h  
questionable background and general unreliability

CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 10/28/91

3 - Bureau (Enc. 6)

(1 [redacted]) (MC LER)

3 - WFO (MC LER)

(1 [redacted]) (MC LER)

JAV:bsc  
(6)

AGENCY USE ONLY

REQ REC'D  
DATE FORW. 11-1-71  
BY WFO/BS 100-9240

Sent M Per

Approved: Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO continues to accept information volunteered by [redacted] but does not attempt to direct his activities in any manner. *JK*

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The confidential source mentioned in the LHM is

[redacted] who furnished the information denoted to SA [redacted] on 10/27/71 [redacted] further advised that IPS representatives who contacted [redacted] *u*

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Federal Bureau of Investigation

May 23, 1975

Director  
Intelligence Division  
Office of Assistant Commissioner (Compliance)  
Room 7238  
Internal Revenue Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D.C. 20224

☒ For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be of interest to you.

☐ 2. It will be appreciated if you will have the investigation conducted as requested in the enclosed memorandum and furnish the results.

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☐ 3. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.

☐ 4. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.

☐ 5. Please note change in caption of this case.

☐ 6. Status of case: ☒ Completed ☐ Incomplete

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [redacted]

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

NOTE: Please declassify memorandum captioned "Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.," which is dated 10/28/71 at our Washington, D.C. office, (Washington Field Office). The Enc. memorandum was classified confidential and sent to your office 11/1/71.

LJB/tae

FILE COPY *LB*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

October 28, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page twenty-two of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D.C. (WDC) weekly newspaper, "The Examiner". She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

On October 26, 1971,

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP (S) ON 11-15-80

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification

Declas. upheld  
5/20/80

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NOV 10 1971

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 12-20-2011

100-441192-103

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

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[REDACTED]

On October 27, 1971, a confidential source, who has  
furnished reliable information in the past, advised [REDACTED]  
indicated that date [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of the  
FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

November 10, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, Northwest  
Washington, D. C.

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page twenty-two of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D. C. (WDC), weekly newspaper, "The Examiner". She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

On October 21, 1971, WF T-1<sup>(U)</sup> provided a copy of a list of IPS Fellows and their respective "Areas of Interest - 1971 - 1972" as denoted herein:



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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5/20/80  
EXT. BY  
FCIM 11,  
REVIEW 11/19/91

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CONFIDENTIAL  
GROUP

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

104



INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Concerning the aforementioned IPS Fellows, the following is noted:

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[REDACTED]

A two-part article which addressed itself to IPS appeared in the November 6, 1969, and November 13, 1969, editions of "Barron's" National Business and Financial Weekly magazine. The first part was entitled "Radical Think-Tank, the Institute for Policy Studies Aims to Disarm the United States" and the second was entitled "Ivory-Tower Activists - IPS Fellows Lead the Radical Thrust for Social Change." This article states in part: "In view of the success of the IPS in developing and implementing theories, its present studies and projects for the future take on added significance. One plan is to set up a network of institutes like IPS all over the country to serve as counter-institutions to established ones. Gar Alperovitz, IPS fellow and former legislative assistant to Senator Gaylord A. Nelson (D., Wisconsin), already has launched one at Cambridge, Massachusetts, with the help of Christopher Jencks, IPS fellow and Harvard professor."

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

A source advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had on August 27, 1966, registered at the National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society held at Clear Lake, Iowa, on August 27, 1966, through September 1, 1966.

(U)

(WF T-2, September 9, 1966) ~~X~~

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was founded during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan, and in the 1960's functioned as the leading New Left campus based student organization in the United States. From a stance of "participatory democracy," the SDS moved to a radical-revolutionary position. It maintained a national

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office at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, until February, 1970. Internal factionalism during 1969 produced three main factions: Weatherman, Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), and Worker Student Alliance (WSA). The Weatherman and RYM no longer consider themselves associated with the SDS. The WSA faction continues to use the name SDS.

On October 28, 1971, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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~~MEMBER OF DIRECT ORGANIZATION~~

RICHARD BARNET

Richard Jackson Barnet has been publicly described as co-director of IPS; A. B. Harvard University, LLB Harvard Law School; formerly an official of the Department of State and the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and Fellow of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University.

[REDACTED]

~~MEMBER OF DIRECT ORGANIZATION~~

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

~~(U)~~

(WF T-3, February 17, 1963)

~~(U)~~

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The official publication of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, which was set up by the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) in New York City in 1961, is "Freedomways." During a National Board meeting of the CPUSA in 1961, it was stated "Freedomways" develops theory and criticism of currents in the Negro movement and projects a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation to these matters.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] traveled to Hanoi, North Vietnam, in April, 1970, reportedly to take letters into and out of North Vietnam from relatives to prisoners of war and vice-versa. Such travel was not authorized by the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS).

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(Records, Passport Office, USDS,  
July 15, 1970)

A source reported that [REDACTED] attended the National Rank and File Trade Union Conference in June, 1970, where she told of her travel to North Vietnam and was critical of United States involvement in the Vietnam War.

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(WF T-4, July 1, 1970) ~~(U)~~

National Rank and File Trade Union  
Conference

A source advised this conference was held in Chicago, Illinois, on June 27-28, 1970, at the Packinghouse Labor and Community Center. The conference was dominated and controlled by the Communist Party (CP), however, the CP made every effort to conceal this information from non-Party individuals in attendance at this conference.

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(WF T-5, June 29, 1970)

A source stated [redacted] of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) was working with a committee whose members were traveling throughout the country interviewing persons interested in traveling to North Vietnam.

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(WF T-4, July 20, 1970) X (U)

WLM is a "radical" women's group which advocates complete equality for women.

MEMBER OF FOREIGN ORGANIZATION

[redacted]

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02.

[redacted]

MEMBER OF FOREIGN ORGANIZATION

[redacted]

The October 20, 1967, issue of "The Evening Star" newspaper, published daily in WDC, on pages A-1 and A-6 reporting on the antiwar demonstration scheduled at the Pentagon on October 21, 1967, stated that the sponsoring organization was the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The article in a brief profile of the principal leaders of the Mobilization Committee described Ivanhoe Donaldson as "director of the New York Office of SNCC, an observer at the 1966 Communist Party U.S.A. Convention and an associate of former SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael."

The New Mobilization Committee (NMC) was formerly known as the Spring Mobilization Committee (SMC).

The SMC is described in the publication entitled "Communist Origin

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

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and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8-15, 1967)," a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives. On Page 53, the report states in part, " Communists are playing dominant roles in both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee."

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) is controlled by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth affiliate, Young Socialist Alliance. SMC initiates and supports public demonstrations against the war in Southeast Asia.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization advocates the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of Government in the United States.

Stokely Carmichael has been publicly identified as a militant black extremist, currently residing in Conakry, Guinea, West Africa.

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

a representative of WLM, on October 21, 1970, distributed leaflets to selected WLM members announcing a special meeting to be held on October 23, 1970, at a fellowship farm in Limerick, Pennsylvania, to discuss the need for active revolution, "because for an oppressive, racist, sexist society to change without revolution is impossible."

(U)  
[WF T-6, October 21, 1970] X

[REDACTED]  
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] is actively involved in the affairs of the Center for Black Education (CBE), WDC, and appears to be [REDACTED] the Center.

[WF T-7, July 28, 1971] X (U)

The CBE was formally opened at 1435-37 Fairmont Street, N. W., WDC, on October 1, 1969, [REDACTED] has been identified as a former member of the Black Panther Party. A source has advised that [REDACTED] was using the CBE as a base to start a "revolutionary organization". A second source has furnished a CBE published document which states in part the CBE objectives are to "train technicians who will work to liberate the African people and develop the African World." The Center is further described as "an educational institution independent of and opposed to the objectives of the American nation and dedicated to the sustenance and stability of the African Continent and its people."

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The Black Panther Party (BPP), mentioned above, is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

KARL HESS

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

Karl Hess, III, a Researcher at IPS, has been publicly described as a former speechwriter for Senator Barry Goldwater. Hess has also publicly supported the BPP as well as the violence prone Weatherman faction of the SDS. Hess has stated that he sees no alternative but to use violent tactics to destroy the United States Government.

[REDACTED] MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

As source advised on June 2, 1971, that [REDACTED] was formerly associated with SNCC and is currently associated with the Drum and Spear Book Store in WDC.

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[WF T-8, June 2, 1971] (U)

The Drums and Spear Book Store is publicly described as a retail book store which dispenses literary works about Africa, Asia, and the Negroes in America. The store contains some protest literature as well as books depicting the socio-economic conditions in America.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED]

An article addressing itself to IPS, "The Thinking of Positive Power", by Garry Wills, which appeared

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in the March, 1971, issue of Esquire Magazine, attributed to IPS Fellow Milton Kotler the prediction of the breakdown of municipal Governments and the setting up of a model for neighborhood Government in the predominantly black section of Cleveland, Ohio.

[REDACTED] MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

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[REDACTED]  
a letter to the Editor, dated August 1, 1965, which appeared in the August 9, 1965, edition of the New York Times newspaper. The letter protested United States intervention in the Dominican Republic and was generally critical of United States Foreign Policy Towards Latin America.

[REDACTED] MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] An undated IPS publication. "The First Three Years", denotes [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] has been publicly described [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] with the aforementioned [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the book, Washington Plans An Aggressive War, published in paperback by Vintage Books, a division of Random House, New York, August, 1971. The Preface of this book

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INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

acknowledges that the twenty month study of the Vietnam War by members of IPS, together with its soon-to-be-published companion volume, Washington Wages An Aggressive War, drew upon the now-famous "Pentagon Papers" as well as other Government documents and interviews of Government officials.

[REDACTED]  
MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] is publicly described as a  
[REDACTED] activist who  
supports the actions of the BPP and strongly opposes the United States Government.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

November 10, 1971

Title        INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
              1520 New Hampshire Avenue, Northwest,  
              Washington, D. C.

Character    IS - NEW LEFT

Reference    Memorandum dated and captioned as  
              above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

1\*

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
May 23, 1975

Director of Special Investigations  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Forrestal Building  
Washington, D. C. 20314

- ☒ 1. For your information, I am enclosing communications which may be of interest to you.
- ☐ 2. It will be appreciated if you will have the investigation conducted as requested in the enclosed memorandum and furnish the results.
- ☐ 3. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- ☐ 4. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- ☐ 5. Please note change in caption of this case.
- ☐ 6. Status of case: ☐ Completed ☐ Incomplete

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

NOTE: Please declassify memorandum captioned "Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C.," which is dated 11/10/71 at our Washington, D.C. office (Washington Field Office). It was classified confidential and sent to your office 4/22/71.

Enc.

LJB H26

FILE COPY 1-43

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 11/10/71

FROM SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N

Washington, D. C.

IS - NEW LEFT

(OO:WFO)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE

Re WFO letter and LHM, 10/29/71, captioned as above  
and setting out task forces of the Institute for Policy Studies  
(IPS) for academic year 1971-1972.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM  
and equal number of evaluation memoranda, dated and captioned  
as above, setting out a list of IPS Fellows and their  
respective "Areas of Interest - 1971-1972".

The LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" inasmuch as  
information denoted therein was obtained from a confidential  
source, the unauthorized disclosure of which could prove  
prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.

It is noted that the areas of interest for IPS  
Fellows set out in enclosed LHM appear directly related in  
most instances to task forces of IPS as denoted in referenced  
communications, and would seem to identify those IPS associates  
working on particular task force projects.

Sources denoted in the LHM are identified as follows:

INFORMANT	LOCATION
WF T-1 is [redacted]	[redacted]
WF T-2 is [redacted]	[redacted]
② - Bureau (Enc. 5)	[redacted]
2 - WFO (1- [redacted])	[redacted]

(U)

CLASS. & EXT.  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 11-10-91

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JAV:djw  
(4)

57 DEC 1 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

0-7 to WFO cc - Remarks: Rewritten & LHM 11/10/71.  
Declassify 24th.  
Rb to AF 01487, Army 0-1487, Navy 0-1487  
Dept - 0-6 - see attached 0-1487 for Note  
295 Hae 5/24/72

AGENCY USE: RECLASSIFIED (ISD)  
11-22-71  
DATE FORN. BY BLS  
BY WGD/BN ICC 924D-XEROXED




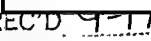
*Thur...*  
*Conf Encl Photo*

DOM INTELL DIV.

b7E

CC TO: *OSTA*  
REQ. REC'D *5-3-72*  
MAY 8 1972  
ANS. *ls*

Nov 16 4 43 PM '71

*Photo*  
CC TO:   
REQ. REC'D *9-11-73*  
OCT 11 1973  
ANS.   
BY: *PL* *RMB*

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SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE 5) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

HSC

*62-116464-214*

ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DATE <i>11/14/75</i>

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC BY MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.  
Nov 24 1 12 PM '71

WFO 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WF T-3 is [REDACTED]

NY file 100-144189 -

WF T-4 is [REDACTED]

WF T-5 is [REDACTED]

Used to describe National Rank  
and File Trade Union Conference

(U) ~~WF T-6 is~~ [REDACTED]

WFO file 100-50254-42

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WF T-7 is [REDACTED]

WF T-8 is [REDACTED]

WFO file 157-1831-132

Records, Passport Office, U. S. Department of State,  
checked re [REDACTED] by SA [REDACTED] on  
7/15/70.

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was contacted on 10/28/71, by SAs [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 10/29/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Miller, E.S.	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Pender	_____
Mr. Bates	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

MC LEK  
(Bufile [redacted])  
(WFO [redacted])b3  
b7EINSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(Bufile 100-447935)  
(WFO 100-46784)Re WFO airtel 10/28/71, captioned as above,  
copies of which are enclosed for Boston, Los Angeles, and  
New York.

On 10/29/71, [redacted]

telephonically furnished the following information:

- ③ - Bureau  
2 - Boston (2 Enc)  
2 - Los Angeles (2 Enc)  
2 - New York (2 Enc)  
4 - WFO  
(1 - 139 [redacted])  
(1 - 66-IPSLO)

CJJ:teb  
(13)

100-447935-1

NOT RECORDED  
170 NOV 4 1971ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/85 BY [redacted]b6  
b7C

20 NOV 3 1971

Approved: 97 NOV 8 1971 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. ROSEN *RS*

FROM : S. B. DONAHOE *SD*

SUBJECT: *O* INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

DATE: 11/4/71

1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - E. S. Miller  
1 - N. P. Callahan

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E. S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Considering the continuing attacks on the FBI, questioning our activities in the security field and accusing us of repressing political dissent, an item has recently come to our attention regarding the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) in Washington, D. C., which is of particular interest.

The IPS, self-described as an "independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy" is more aptly described by a source as a "think tank" of radical politics. It has been publicly revealed (in 1967) as an organization which helped train extremists who incite violence and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. We have been conducting an expanded investigation of IPS since January, 1971, and separately we are investigating the possible involvement of IPS in the disclosure of the "Pentagon Papers."

Any doubt as to the radical nature and ultimate goals of this outfit should be dispelled by a statement appearing in a recently acquired document of IPS entitled "Proposed Basic Strategy of IPS Prison Project." This document refers to an IPS campaign, conceived as a five-year plan, calling for the abolishment of prisons.

In outlining points for study of the prison abolition proposal, the document (copy attached) states on page 2:

"What would be the means of dealing with 'dangerous deviants' and with the old ruling class if there were a radical transformation of American society? i. e., What would we do after the revolution? What would be the political functions of 'no prisons,' the political effect of abolishing them?"

100-447935

Enclosure

SBD/imt (6)

CONTINUED - OVER

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

54 NOV 17 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C



Memorandum to MR. ROSEN  
RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

The only rational interpretation of this is that it is an expression of concern as to what to do with their own political opposition (the old ruling class) after the revolution, if they were to succeed in abolishing prisons. It is a strange twist. Carrying on their activities in an open and free society they are thinking ahead to their own brand of political repression, after the revolution.

It is a shame there is such a limited forum for letting the American people know what these intellectual radicals have in mind. The possible involvement of IPS in the disclosure of the "Pentagon Papers," which could involve prosecution, would seem to bar use of this as a news media item at this time, but we should bear it in mind when prosecutive aspects are resolved.

ACTION:

For information.

2  
For AS  
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WISS  
JAN

Airtel

11/24/71

To: SAC, WFO (100-46784)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

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From: Director, FBI (100-447935)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS - NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo  
1 -   
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 -

Reurairtel dated 11/23/71 concerning IPS   
 and Bureau telephone call  
this date.

Insure that all appropriate informants whose  
identities may be jeopardized by any disclosures to be made  
by  are alerted in order that such  
informants be protected from any reprisals. This confirms  
information related in referenced call.

RJS:jl  
(7) *sum*

NOTE:

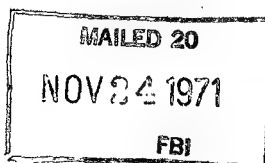
This confirms telephone instructions from  
Inspector J. A. Sizoo, Domestic Intelligence Division, to  
SAC Kunkel, 11/24/71. Referenced communication sets forth  
information from informant of WFO that   
 planned to meet with representatives of IPS and  
disclose information regarding racial investigations and  
investigation of IPS.  left the Bureau in 1970 and  
is knowledgeable of these matters.

REC-51

ST-102

10 NOV 26 1971

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/00 BY

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D E.S. MILLER  
NOV 1 08 55 1971

Nov 24 1 59 PM '71

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

<u>SSC</u>		<u>HSC</u> 62-116464-214	
ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DATE 11/14/76

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

Airtel

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To: SACs, Boston [redacted]  
New York [redacted]  
Los Angeles [redacted]  
WFO [redacted]

11/10/71

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b7E

1 - [redacted]  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. Wagoner  
1 - Mr. Belanger

From: Director, FBI [redacted]

MC LEK  
SIO

100-447935-5

ReWFOairtel 11/5/71.

Referenced airtel set forth a very interesting analysis of investigative data collected to date regarding possible source for the "Pentagon papers" disclosures. The communication also set forth a theory as to the possible method utilized to disseminate the "Pentagon papers" to unauthorized persons. The Boston, Los Angeles, and New York Offices should promptly review the comments of WFO in reairtel and furnish to the Bureau any observations each might have which either tend to prove or disprove WFO's theory of the case. Additionally, each office should set forth any new investigative avenues which could logically be pursued to develop admissible evidence leading to a solution of the case.

WFO should maintain close liaison with the Department of Defense (DOD) research team which is currently analyzing and comparing material published in the American press with the official classified source documents of interest in this case. Research results should be promptly furnished to the Bureau as received and where information developed by the research effort of DOD adds to or renders portions of WFO's theory of the case invalid, specific comments relative thereto should be set forth when reporting research results to the Bureau.

① - 100-447935 (IPS)

LEB:bsf (14)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80

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b7C

**NOTE:** By referenced airtel WFO set forth certain data which indicates that the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), a Washington, D. C., New Left "think tank," apparently possessed copies of the "Pentagon papers" for sometime (having received them from Daniel Ellsberg). Prior to publication by IPS, it schemed to make these available to the American press in order to diffuse responsibility and possibly rendering prosecution of IPS unlikely. Comments received from recipient offices will be carefully analyzed and thereafter indicated leads will be set forth by the Bureau in order that all logical leads be covered to either prove or disprove WFO's theory of the case.

DUPLICATE YELLOW

F B I

Date: 11/26/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Miller	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Ponder	_____
Mr. Bates	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re WFO AT of 11/23/71 captioned as above.

On the evening of 11/24/71 [redacted] attended a meeting at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). Source advised that the meeting was in progress when he arrived and an unidentified [redacted]

[redacted] was speaking on the topic of racism, specifically the exploitation of black policemen by the "White Power Structure". Source taped this meeting and it was the opinion of agents who heard the tape, and who knew [redacted] that the voice on the tape was very probably his. Source viewed a photograph of [redacted] and positively identified him as the speaker at IPS on the night of 11/24/71.

Source stated that [redacted] did not speak about the Bureau or any Bureau sources and that the meeting was in the form of a panel discussion.

EX-104

REC 9

④ - Bureau  
2 - WFO

WTT:act  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [redacted]

58 DEC 1971

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Evans
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Jones
- Mr. Marshall
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Mumford
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-10734) (P)  
 INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
 IS - MISCELLANEOUS

11 13 AM '71

Re WFO 11/13/71 captioned as above.  
 On the evening of 11/13/71, [redacted] attended a meeting at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) in Washington, D.C. that the meeting was held in a room which was [redacted] and an [redacted] fled.

[redacted] the exploitation of this [redacted] Source taped this [redacted] and [redacted] heard the tape and [redacted] very probably [redacted] tively identified [redacted] Source.

[redacted] or any [redacted] panel [redacted]

NOV 29 10 28 AM 1971

RECEIVED-TOLSON  
 FBI  
 NOV 29 9 44 AM '71

WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
 THAT CERTAIN EXCERPTS MAY HAVE BEEN  
 (S) 62-116344 (SSO, 62-116464 (HSC).  
 DATE 11/14/75  
 DATE 11/14/75  
 DATE 11/14/75

RECEIVED  
 NOV 30 1 29 PM 1971  
 LEGAL COUNSEL  
 (C)

NOV 26 8 17 PM '71

REC'D  
 DOM INTELL DIV

28 DEC 1971

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 b7C  
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b6  
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Domestic Intelligence Division

b6  
b7C

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11-26-71

Attached relates to the appearance of [redacted] at meeting at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). IPS is described as the "think factory" of the New Left [redacted] spoke on the topic of racism, specifically the exploitation of black policemen by the white power structure. Our source who was present at the meeting and who identified [redacted] as the speaker at IPS advised that [redacted] did not speak about the Bureau or any Bureau sources and that the meeting was in the form of a panel discussion.

For information.

JFB:lrs

ESB  
JB

AG

R/SJ/GCM  
comp.

This will be brought to the  
Attention of the Department  
when meeting is arranged

RL

XEROX

Viper  
was

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b7C

DEC 15 1971

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/2

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

DATE: 11/29/71

1 - Mr. D. J. Dalbey  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 -   
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 -

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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## PURPOSE:

To advise you of the reappearance of  at the IPS and the result of meeting by Domestic Intelligence Division (DID) and Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) representatives with Department of Justice representatives.

## BACKGROUND:

Memorandum 11/24/71 advised that  had furnished information to IPS principals on 11/19/71 concerning Bureau investigations in both the extremist intelligence and New Left fields.  was scheduled to return to IPS 11/24/71 and furnish more specific information regarding FBI investigations of black extremist organizations and IPS. The memorandum, which was approved, recommended DID and OLC representatives meet with Departmental representatives to discuss what measures the Department desired to take to prevent  from furnishing information to IPS.

did return to IPS 11/24/71 and spoke concerning racism, specifically the exploitation of black policemen by the white power structure. He did not mention the Bureau or any confidential sources.

On 11/26/71 the Director was furnished a brief of  file, which indicated DID and OLC representatives were meeting with Departmental representatives regarding this matter. The Director asked, "What has been the result?"

Enclosure  
100-447935

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

WGD:djr  
(11)

XEROX

DEC 15 1971

CONTINUED - OVER

PERS. REC. UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/82 BY 1045

PERSONNEL RECORDS UNIT



Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY  
STUDIES (IPS):

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[REDACTED]  
100-447935  
[REDACTED]

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS:

Deputy Assistant Attorney General (DAAG) [REDACTED] of the Internal Security Division met with SA [REDACTED] DID, and SA [REDACTED] OLC, today. After being advised of the facts, DAAG [REDACTED] stated that in order to obtain an injunction in a situation such as this it would be necessary to show that irreparable damage would result from [REDACTED] action and that no adequate remedy could be obtained in a court of law. He advised that if [REDACTED] divulged confidential information obtained during the course of his FBI employment, he would be subject to prosecution for a violation of the Espionage statute and that as a general rule the court will not enjoin the commission of a criminal offense. [REDACTED] advised that based on the information available, it would not be possible to obtain an injunction against [REDACTED] at this time.

OBSERVATIONS:

Although DAAG [REDACTED] has indicated that no legal action can be taken against [REDACTED] at this time, it is possible that he may commit a violation of the Espionage statute and if he does, should be prosecuted. We are, therefore, instructing WFO and Buffalo by separate communication to remain alert for any additional contact between [REDACTED] and the IPS or other dissident groups and to immediately advise the Bureau so that we can bring such information to the attention of the Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval is a letter to the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, confirming the discussion between Deputy Assistant Attorney General [REDACTED] and SAs [REDACTED]

WGD

DW  
CWT

OK  
EM/s & [signature]

R. AS SD/SEM  
enc.

Viper  
was

[signature]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 01-27-2011

F B I

Date: 11/24/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(OO: WFO)

CONFIDENTIAL

E.R. HANCOCK

b6  
b7C

Re Bureau airtel 10/1/71, authorizing WFO to expend \$375 per month for period 10/1/71 - 12/31/71 for rental of observation post on captioned facility and WFO airtels 10/28/71 and 10/29/71 bearing dual caption of IPS and MC LEK (Bufile 65-74060). (U)

As noted in referenced WFO airtel, 10/28/71, stationary lookout on IPS was temporarily discontinued, effective 10/28/71, in view of surveillance paranoia on the part of IPS officials. (U)

It is felt that no further attempts should be made to provide lookout coverage of captioned organization at this time in that the lookout has served its purpose and the fact that subpoenaed toll call records of IPS under MC LEK case have provided insight into the wide range of contacts of the organization. (U)

Accordingly, rental of observation post on captioned facility being discontinued, effective 11/30/71. When necessary a temporary LO can be arranged at the Dupont Plaza Hotel.

- 3 - Bureau  
(1 - [redacted] (MC LEK)  
2 - WFO  
(1 - [redacted] (MC LEK)  
JAV:jmg/teb  
(5)

Classified by  
Exempt from  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

b6  
b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

16 NOV 30 1971

Approved

54 DEC 9 1971  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

DATE

UNRECORDED COPY

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DATE OF REVIEW 11/24/78

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1971-273-333

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEC 6 1971

NOV 24 8 17 PM '71

**SENSTUDY 75**

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE(S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
 DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ DEL. ☒ \_\_\_\_\_ DATE 11/14/75

MISD - DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
 TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT. DATE  
 DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

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IN ORDER TO DEVELOPMENTS OF THE "CITY OF THE"

14-00000 ( )  
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 AND TO THE EXTENT OF THE POWER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS (BANKERS)

(OO: 4E)  
 02 - ITR TUG  
 DEANTO 04-07-81  
 PARA COM INTERPRETE E LINGUA P.  
 ENVIARAO COM BOLSAO - 02-07-81 (TUG)

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-41167) ( )

TO: MEMPHIS (100-33400)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 8/16/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Gonder	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)  
ATTN: Research Section, DID

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.  
(OO:WFO)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 7-15-80 JC

ReBuairtel, 8/11/71, captioned INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES, RESEARCH MATTER, BUDED 8/23/71, requesting information pertaining financing and activities of captioned organization.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a pamphlet entitled "The First Three Years", distributed by the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and obtained by [redacted]

[redacted] furnished enclosed pamphlet to SA [redacted] on 8/16/71 and advised that it is the only public source material made available by IPS. It is noted that the pamphlet is quite outdated and has been used for reference purposes in previous WFO reports on captioned organization.

Concerning financing of IPS, Bureau's attention is invited to WFO letter to Bureau, 7/20/71, bearing IPS caption, which sets out summary review of IPS income tax returns, 1963-69.

Concerning current activities of captioned Institute, Bureau's attention is invited to WFO report of SA [redacted] 6/29/71, IPS caption, and WFO airtel to Bureau 8/3/71, captioned MC LEK (Nationalities Intelligence), Bufile [redacted]

ENCLOSURE  
Bureau (Enc. 1)

2 - WFO

JAV: dco

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent DEC 6 1971 M

Per

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965 O - 335

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE TEMPORARILY RETAINED

100 Room 904 9x11 WFO 12/7/71

CONTAINED  
IN  
ENCLOSURE

EXT. BY 5/20/80  
FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8/16/91

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Airtel

12/2/71

To: SACs, WFO  
Buffalo (Enclosures-3)

1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - [redacted]

From: Director, FBI

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT**  
Bufile: 100-447935  
WFO file: 100-46784

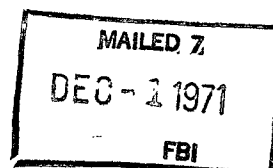
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ReWFOairtels to the Bureau 11/19/71, 11/23/71, and 11/26/71, copies of which are enclosed for Buffalo.

Based on information in referenced airtels, discussions were held with attorneys of the Department of Justice concerning legal measures which could be taken to prevent [redacted] from divulging information obtained as a result of his official duties. The Department advised that in order to obtain an injunction against [redacted] it would be necessary to show that information he planned to divulge would result in irreparable damage to the Government and that no adequate remedy could be obtained in a court of law. Departmental attorneys advised that based on information available it does not appear that an injunction against [redacted] can be obtained at this time. If [redacted] does disclose confidential information obtained during the course of his FBI employment, he would be subject to prosecution for violation of the Espionage statute.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WGD:jlm  
(10) *SLM*



EX-116

REC-4

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 5/20/82

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DEC 7 1971

58 DEC 14 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

PERS. REC. UNIT

SENSTUDY 75 EX 111

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

<u>SSC</u>		<u>HSC</u> 62-116464-214	
ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> _____	DATE 11/11/75

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

Airtel to WFO, et al  
Re: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
100-447935



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For the information of Buffalo, IPS has been publicly described as the think factory of the New Left which helps train extremists who incite violence and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation.

WFO and Buffalo are instructed to be alert for any additional contact between [redacted] and IPS or other dissident groups and advise the Bureau by teletype suitable for dissemination in order that such information can be brought to the attention of the Department without delay.

Insure the utmost discretion is used in this matter to preclude any possibility of [redacted] or individuals connected with IPS being made aware of FBI interest in their activities.

NOTE:

Memorandum R. L. Shackelford to Mr. E. S. Miller, 11/29/71, advised that WFO and Buffalo would be instructed as indicated above by separate communication. This was approved by the Director. Buffalo cognizant of [redacted] presence in that Division.

DIRECTOR, FBI (157-15364)

10/29/71

SAC, WFO (157-2619) (P)

CR  
CENTER FOR BLACK EDUCATION (CBE)  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
EXTREMIST MATTERS  
(OO:WFO)

*Institute for Policy Studies*

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above containing information concerning the finances of the CBE.

Enclosed LHM has been disseminated locally by WFO to U.S. Secret Service and AUSA, WDC.

The identity of the first confidential source along with identity of individual to whom subpoena duces tecum should be issued if needed maintained in instant WFO file serials 1094 and 1108. Identity of second confidential source along with identity of individual to whom subpoena duces tecum should be issued if needed maintained in instant WFO file serials 1101 and 1102.

[redacted] who is mentioned in LHM, is included on the SI by WFO. He along with the BPP, Institute for Policy Studies, and [redacted] who are also mentioned in LHM, is the subject of pending WFO investigation. [redacted] is not known to WFO as an activist at the CBE and no investigation is contemplated concerning his activities at the present time.

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WFO will continue to monitor checking accounts of the CBE and will make pertinent information available to the Bureau as developed.

ENCLOSURE  
(3) Bureau (Enc. 6)  
(1-100-447935) (IPS)  
3- WFO  
(1-100-46784) (IPS)  
(1-157-4133) (KERR)

54 DEC 1 1971  
GWP:cb (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/82 BY [redacted]

100 447935 -  
NOT RECORDED  
149 NOV 1 1971

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Washington, D. C. 20535  
October 29, 1971

CENTER FOR BLACK EDUCATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Center for Black Education (CBE)  
was formally opened at 1435-37 Fair-  
mont Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.  
(WDC), on October 1, 1969. [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted] the Black Panther  
Party. A source has advised that  
[redacted] the CBE as a base  
to start a "revolutionary organization."  
A second source has furnished a CBE  
published document which states in  
part that CBE objectives are to "train  
technicians who will work to liberate  
the African people and develop the  
African World." The Center is further  
described as "an educational institution  
independent of and opposed to the ob-  
jectives of the American nation and  
dedicated to the sustenance and stabi-  
lity of the African Continent and its  
people...."

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a  
black extremist organization started  
in Oakland, California, in December,  
1966. It advocates the use of guns  
and guerilla tactics to bring about  
the overthrow of the United States  
Government.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/ [redacted]

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100-447955-

ENCLOSURE

CENTER FOR BLACK EDUCATION

On September 2, 1971, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished information indicating that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In-formation furnished by this source can be made available only with the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

On September 27, 1971, a second confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished [REDACTED]

Information furnished by this source indicated [REDACTED]

The second confidential source mentioned above, furnished information on September 27, 1971, [REDACTED]

Information furnished by the above source indicated [REDACTED]

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CENTER FOR BLACK EDUCATION



b7D

Above confidential source further advised that a



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b7D

Information furnished by the second confidential source mentioned above can only be made public by the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

The IPS has been characterized in an article in the WDC weekly newspaper, "The Examiner" dated September 24, 1967, page 22, by Edith Kermit Roosevelt. She states in part that the IPS is a Washington based "think factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. She concludes that the IPS through its conferences and seminars exert a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left. The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problem.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

November 30, 1971

Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

Director, FBI

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY  
STUDIES (IPS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. D. J. Dalbey  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - [REDACTED]

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This is to confirm the discussion between Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] of this organization and Deputy Assistant Attorney General [REDACTED] Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, this date, concerning possible legal action which may be taken to prevent a former Special Agent of the FBI from divulging information obtained by him as a result of his official duties.

An individual tentatively identified [REDACTED] reportedly visited the Institute for Policy Studies on November 19, 1971, and furnished information to persons connected therewith concerning FBI investigations of several black nationalist organizations and Institute for Policy Studies. The Institute for Policy Studies has been described as the think factory of the New Left, which helps train extremists who incite violence and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. [REDACTED] was to return to Institute for Policy Studies November 24, 1971, and furnish more specific information concerning these investigations but, according to information received, upon reappearing November 24, 1971, he did not divulge any information concerning FBI investigations.

Deputy Assistant Attorney General [REDACTED] advised that in order to obtain an injunction against [REDACTED] it would be necessary to show that the information which he planned to divulge would result in irreparable damage to the Government

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Favel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
oyars \_\_\_\_\_  
ele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
olmes \_\_\_\_\_  
andy \_\_\_\_\_

WGD:djr  
(13)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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57 DEC 13 1971

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Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

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and that no adequate remedy could be obtained in a court of law. [ ] pointed out that if [ ] divulges confidential information obtained by him during the course of his FBI employment, he would most likely be subject to prosecution for violation of the Espionage statute and, as a general rule, a court will not enjoin the commission of a criminal offense. [ ] advised that based on the information available it does not appear that an injunction against [ ] can be obtained at this time.

Any additional information developed in this matter will be promptly furnished to you.

NOTE:

See memorandum R. L. Shackelford to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated 11/29/71, captioned as above, prepared by WGD:djr.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : R. L. Shackelford *RLS*

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY  
STUDIES (IPS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. D. J. Dalbey

DATE: 11/24/71

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 -   
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 -

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop *RLS*  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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## PURPOSE:

To recommend that representatives of Domestic Intelligence Division and the Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) meet with Departmental officials to discuss what legal measures can be invoked to prevent  from disclosing information obtained by him as a result of his official duties.

## BACKGROUND:

Memorandum 11/23/71 captioned as above, revealed  planned to visit the IPS on 11/19/71.

WFO airtel 11/23/71 contains information indicating that  furnished information to IPS principals to the effect that the FBI had informants in the Center for Black Education (CBE) and additionally had placed people in other black nationalist organizations to create dissension and destroy them.

is reportedly scheduled to return to IPS on the evening of 11/24/71 (tonight) and furnish specific information concerning FBI investigations of the CBE, Drum and Spear Bookstore, the Malcolm X Liberation University and IPS.

100-447935

WGD:djr  
(11)

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DATE 5/20/80

REC-28

100-447935-116

EX-117

CONTINUED - OVER

87 DEC 7 1971

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DEC 13 1971

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS);

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100-447935  
[redacted]

This matter was discussed this date by SA [redacted]  
[redacted] Domestic Intelligence Division, and SA [redacted] OLC.  
SA [redacted] advised Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations,  
Section 16.12, prohibits disclosure of any information by  
reason of official duties or official status.

WFO has been instructed telephonically to alert any  
informants whose identities may be disclosed by [redacted] to be  
careful of reprisals. This is being confirmed by separate u  
communication.

OBSERVATIONS:

If [redacted] is not prevented from furnishing information  
to IPS officials, the identities of several informants may be  
disclosed; however, any legal action taken to prevent [redacted]  
from furnishing information may result in the disclosure of  
identities of several other informants.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Domestic Intelligence Division and OLC  
representatives meet with Department of Justice representatives  
to discuss what measures Department may desire to take to  
prevent Wall from furnishing information to IPS.

SD/GCM

WFO  
att/ [redacted]

J.A.S.

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and

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WBS

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28 Code of Federal Regulations  
Section 16.12 applies to former  
employees as well as those  
currently employed and  
would seem to apply to  
in this case. jam

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/19/71

FROM : SAC, WFO

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
IS - MISC (WFO 100-46784)

COPY RETAINED IN  
PERSONNEL RECORDS UNIT

On the early afternoon of 11/19/71, SA [redacted] encountered [redacted] in the vicinity of 12th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C. Prior to his resignation, [redacted] and SA [redacted] were assigned to Extremist Matters in WFO.

[redacted] said he was in WDC on a "flying" trip at the expense of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). His family did not accompany him. He said he intended to go to the office of the IPS at 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, at an unspecified time. He made no comment concerning the purpose of his trip; however, in passing, said he will be on a television show in January, 1972, which should be of interest to the FBI. He said he has been asked to do some writing but has not done so to date. He commented he attended the Princeton University Study of the FBI which was held several weeks ago.

SA [redacted] asked of [redacted] if he feels his anti-FBI stand will accomplish anything of a constructive nature. [redacted] responded that he doubted that anything will be accomplished.

Above for information.

3 - Bureau  
1 - WFO

CJJ:teb  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80

4 DEC 16 1971

15 DEC 8 1971

PERS. REC. UNIT



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

DATE: 11/23/71

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - [redacted]

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

lson \_\_\_\_\_  
lt \_\_\_\_\_  
sen \_\_\_\_\_  
hr \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## PURPOSE:

To advise that [redacted]  
planned to visit the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) on  
11/19/71.

## BACKGROUND:

The IPS has been described as the "Think Factory" of  
the New Left and is currently involved in the MC LEK investigation.

Early on the afternoon of 11/19/71 a Special Agent  
assigned to WFO encountered [redacted] in the vicinity of 12th Street  
and Pennsylvania Avenue. [redacted] said he was in town at the expense  
of IPS and intended to go to the IPS office at 1520 New Hampshire  
Avenue, N.W. [redacted] did not indicate what the purpose of his visit  
to IPS was but did say he would be on a television show in  
January, 1972, which would be of interest to the FBI.

## ACTION:

None. For information.

100-447935

WGD:jlm

57 DEC 13 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/01

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

FROM : R. L. Shackelford *RLS*

SUBJECT: *0* INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

DATE: 11/11/71

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 -   
1 -   
1 - Mr. F. B. Griffith  
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop ☒  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
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Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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with whom we have had excellent working relations, contacted me on 11/11/71 and furnished copies of a just printed report

copy attached.

Leads from this material will be vigorously pursued.

*EX-104 REC 16 100-447935-119*  
In general discussion, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Washington, D. C., based New Left think-tank, came up.  concurred in the feeling this group played an insidious and influential role in developing strategy and tactics for all phases of subversion, seditious activity, racial conflict and revolutionary political agitation and violence.

Enclosures  
100-447935

1 - 62-112287 (United States Servicemen's Fund)

54 DEC 16 1971

DEC 8 1971

DEC 9 1971

CONTINUED - OVER

PERS. REC. UNIT

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
100-447935

Of particular recent importance, and typical of its ability to exploit controversy, is the Institute for Policy Studies' (IPS) role in current "Pentagon Papers" controversy.

[redacted] had expressed considerable concern over IPS and he believed [redacted] could be interested in holding hearings next year on this group.

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We have conducted intensive investigation of IPS and have considerable background and public source information which could be made available [redacted] We have done so in the past with excellent results with other organizations.

The true subversive role and intent of IPS needs to be made known to the public [redacted] presents an excellent forum to accomplish this.

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, we will furnish public source and background information [redacted] concerning IPS to further public exposure of this group's revolutionary and subversive role in society.

EM <sup>SD/6m</sup>  
~~SD~~

mp 3-21-72  
JAS  
PETER  
1

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 12-20-2011

F B I

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 11/23/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

Via

AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Priority)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF Class  
DATE 7-15-80jc

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
IS - MISC (WFO 100-46784)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF declassification  
DATE 12/7/77

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Re WFO airtel 11/19/71 under above captions which,  
among other things, stated that [redacted]  
informed SA [redacted] that [redacted] intended to  
visit the office of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
while in Washington, D. C., during the period, 11/19/71.

On 11/23/71, [redacted] furnished the following

[redacted] (an extremist organization), related  
to [redacted] on the evening of 11/22/71 that [redacted]  
had learned within the past two weeks that [redacted]  
[redacted] was  
not known; however, it was said he had [redacted]  
during 1970. [redacted] did not attend the speech; however, he

According to [redacted] said that during  
the last year of [redacted] the FBI placed people  
in certain organizations to create dissention and destroy [redacted]

1 cc per 924 D

1 cc

③ -

1 - WFO

CJJ:teb

(4)

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON

Classified By 3347

Exempt from GDS, Category

Date of Declassification Indefinite 5/23/75

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved:

5 DEC 21 1977

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1971-413-135

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

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DATE OF REVIEW 11/23/97

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them. Among the organizations described were the Center for Black Education, the Drum and Spear Bookstore, both of Washington, D. C., and the Malcolm X Liberation University of Greensboro, North Carolina. [redacted] also is said to have commented [redacted]

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Continuing, [redacted]

4C  
that prior to the death of RALPH FEATHERSTONE, former manager of the Drum and Spear Bookstore, the FBI had one informant in the CBE and that subsequently a second one was developed. [redacted] (U)

6/1  
With respect to [redacted] appearance at IPS, [redacted] that IPS invited [redacted] to speak on the subject of what type of investigation the FBI would likely conduct concerning IPS's activities. [redacted] is scheduled to return to IPS on the night of Wednesday, 11/24/71, at which time he reportedly will divulge specific information concerning FBI activities which relate to CBE, Drum and Spear Bookstore, and the Malcolm X University. "Names and dates concerning FBI activities" are to be furnished. [redacted] (U)

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A second source who reports on IPS activities,

10  
[redacted] reported on 11/23/71 [redacted]  
[redacted] appeared at IPS and informed IPS representatives that [redacted] had worked on the "IPS" case, which included surveillances of individuals from the IPS building. He indicated his willingness to furnish to IPS all he knew about THE FBI's interest in IPS. u

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second source that [redacted] u

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WFO 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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WFO is conscious of the serious nature of the above data. Information supplied by source will be furnished to the Bureau on an expedite basis as well as collateral investigation. *u*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 8 1971  
*m h w*  
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Miller, ES	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Ponder	_____
Mr. Bates	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*[Handwritten signature]*  
NR 012 WF CODE

6:03 PM NITEL 12-8-71 SKA

TO DIRECTOR

BUFFALO

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS); IS-NEW LEFT; BUFILE  
ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR FOUR SEVEN NINE THREE FIVE; WFO FILE  
ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR SIX SEVEN EIGHT FOUR.

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*[Redacted]*  
*[Redacted]* REC-33 100-447755-121  
EX-100  
RE BUAIRTEL, DECEMBER TWO, LAST.

DEC 10 1971

A SOURCE ADVISED ON DECEMBER EIGHT, INSTANT, THAT DURING  
A CONVERSATION *[Redacted]* AND ANOTHER UNIDENTIFIED  
FEMALE AT IPS ON DECEMBER SEVEN, LAST, IT WAS MENTIONED TO THE  
SOURCE THAT IPS PERSONNEL *[Redacted]*  
*[Redacted]* WERE THEN IN A CONFERENCE WITH SOMEONE IDENTIFIED  
ONLY AS *[Redacted]* PHONETIC).

THE SOURCE WAS UNABLE TO DETERMINE FURTHER IDENTIFYING  
DATA CONCERNING *[Redacted]* PHONETIC).

END PAGE ONE

DEC 17 1971

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DATE 5/20/80 BY *[Redacted]*

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

NO FURTHER INFORMATION HAS COME TO THE ATTENTION OF  
WFO INDICATING THAT [REDACTED] VISITED IPS ON  
DECEMBER SEVEN, LAST.

P

END

BJM FBI WASH DC

~~ACK FOR NR011 & 012~~

~~HOLD~~

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1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - [REDACTED]

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December 21, 1971

1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford  
1 - [REDACTED]

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES**

1 - [REDACTED]

The Institute for Policy Studies is a nonprofit, tax exempt institution incorporated in the District of Columbia with an annual budget variously estimated at between \$225,000 and \$400,000. The budget for 1966-67, as published in its 1966 brochure, was \$239,000 broken down into administrative costs at \$109,300 and faculty salaries at \$130,500.

Various foundations have provided most of the support. These include the Edgar Stern Family Fund, the Samuel Rubin Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Milbank Foundation, the National Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, the Cudahy Fund, and the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundations.

Private donations have come from such individuals as [REDACTED] and the late James P. Warburg whose millions were spread over dozens of leftist causes.

In a brochure issued in 1966, the Institute for Policy Studies states that it began operations in October, 1963. Other sources reveal that it was organized by "a half dozen young men who were government aides and scholars in the Kennedy years who conceived the idea of an independent research organization."

The Institute for Policy Studies has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D. C., newspaper, "The Examiner" as a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - 100-447935 (Institute for Policy Studies)  
1 - 100-396916 [REDACTED]

WGD:jlm/djr (12)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 5/20/80

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Original of this blind memorandum and copies of the following items furnished to Congressman Frank T. Bow: "Was Computer Wrong on War?" "Washington Post," 7/19/71; "Bad Trouble for the Country," Miami Sun-Sentinel, 10/11/71; "The Thinking of Positive Power," Esquire Magazine, March, 1971; Institute for Policy Studies pamphlet entitled "The First Three Years." ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1 - Mr. J.P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. A. Rosen

1 - Mr. E.S. Miller  
1 - Mr. R.L. Shackelford  
1 -   
1 -

December 21, 1971

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The November 7, 1964, issue of the "National Guardian" reported that its 16th Anniversary dinner was to be held on the evening of November 24, 1964, in the ballroom of the Hotel Astor in New York City. Among the speakers listed was Staughton Lynd, Associate Professor of History at Yale University.

The December 1, 1961, edition of the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" contained the following information concerning the "National Guardian":

"I...established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a progressive weekly...it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

"The Militant" issue of June 7, 1965, carried an article entitled "A Call for Action Against the Vietnam War" that reported on a speech delivered by Staughton Lynd on May 22, 1965, at the University of California at Berkeley. Lynd, Professor at Yale University, stated that he was advocating the "nonviolent retirement of the present administration, that is, the creation of civil disobedience so persistent and so massive that the Tuesday lunch club which runs this country--Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Bundy--will forthwith resign."

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"TOCSIN" of Oakland, California, self-described as "The West's Leading Anti-Communist Weekly," carried an article in its May 27, 1965, issue that was entitled "The Theme was 'Hate America.'" The article reported on Staughton Lynd's

\*of the House Committee on Un-American Activities  
100-396916

1 - 100-447935 (IPS)  
LJB:mkl (13)

Original of this blind memorandum  
furnished to Congressman Frank T. Bow.

ENCLOSURE

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antiwar speech at the University of California on May 22, 1965, during which Lynd reportedly advocated obstructing American troops in the performance of their mission. The article characterized Lynd as one of four guests who were invited to speak at the anniversary celebration "of the Communist National Guardian last Nov. 24." "TOCSIN" also reported that Lynd's views are frequently recorded by pro-communist papers, including the Number 3 issue of "Free Student," which was described as the "organ of the militantly pro-Viet Cong May 2nd Movement."

Lynd was further described in the "TOCSIN" article as the son of two veteran backers of communist fronts. It was reported that his father, Columbia Professor Robert S. Lynd, had been affiliated over the past three decades with a number of organizations listed in the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The September 14, 1965, issue of the "Yale Daily News," in an article entitled "Lynd Smeared, Arrested, in D.C.," reported that Staughton Lynd was smeared with red paint while demonstrating in Washington, D. C., on August 9, 1965, against United States action in Vietnam. He was also arrested on August 9, 1965, for crossing a police line on U. S. Capitol grounds and fined \$100. The "Yale Daily News" is the official Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, daily student publication.

The "New Haven Journal-Courier," a local New Haven daily metropolitan newspaper, in its issue of December 28, 1965, reported that Staughton Lynd was in Hanoi, North Vietnam, on an unauthorized fact-finding mission. He was accompanied on the trip by Herbert Aptheker, "reputed Communist theoretician."

The February 3, 1966, issue of "The New York Times," daily New York City newspaper, reported that the State Department had revoked the passport of Staughton Lynd on the ground that he had violated travel regulations in visiting Hanoi and Peking.

The "Yale Daily News" of February 24, 1966, carried an article, captioned "Lynd Defines Basic Beliefs, Background," that reported on a meeting held on the Yale campus on February 23, 1966. At this meeting, Staughton Lynd explained

how he had become a "Marxist-Quaker-Pacifist-existentialist." He attributed his Marxist beliefs to parental influence and stated that his father was an avowed socialist.

The "New Haven Journal-Courier," in its issue of July 18, 1967, contained an article entitled "Prof. Lynd Refused 3rd Job." It was reported that Staughton Lynd had been refused a position as Associate Professor of History at Chicago State College. Lynd, who was then living in Chicago, Illinois, was on leave of absence from Yale University without salary. He had previously been turned down for positions at the University of Illinois, Chicago campus, and Northern Illinois University at DeKalb, Illinois.

The "Chicago American," a daily Chicago newspaper, carried an article in its October 20, 1967, issue captioned "Lynd Withdraws Lawsuit, OK's College Offer." This article reported that Staughton Lynd had agreed to withdraw a lawsuit and complaints to professional organizations against Chicago State College after a previous decision had been reversed and he was placed on the college payroll.

The August 23, 1967, edition of "The Washington Daily News," daily Washington, D. C., newspaper, previously reported in a news item datelined Springfield, Illinois, that three Circuit Court Judges had, on August 22, 1967, upheld a decision denying former Yale History Professor Staughton Lynd a job at Chicago State College.

The January 15, 1968, issue of the "Chicago Daily News," Chicago, Illinois, daily newspaper, reported that Staughton Lynd had been declared a draft delinquent after he mailed in his draft card.

The "Chicago Sun-Times," a daily Chicago, Illinois, newspaper, in its edition of March 27, 1966, carried an article relating to an anti-Vietnam War affair held in Chicago early in March, 1966. Staughton Lynd was in Chicago to participate in this affair and reportedly stated that he had recently applied for membership in the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA).

The DCA, former youth group of the Communist Party, USA, is now defunct.



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On May 18, 1968, Staughton Lynd appeared on "At Random," a Columbia Broadcasting System television program, telecasted on that date from Chicago, Illinois. The main subject under discussion was the refusal of Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois, to grant a full-time teaching position in the History Department of that University to Lynd, a part-time Instructor at the school. During the telecast, Lynd stated that every American has to believe in the right of revolution inasmuch as the United States was "founded on revolution" and added that in his opinion the black people have the right to move from civil disobedience to revolution at any time.

Mr. T. S. Miller

Mr. L. Shackelford

CONGRESSMAN FRANK T. ROW  
REQUEST FOR INFORMATION

1 - Mr. J. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
12/21/71

1 - Mr. T. S. Miller  
1 - Mr. L. Shackelford

b6  
b7C

On 12/20/71, Congressman Row called Mr. John P. Mohr and advised that [redacted] was being considered for [redacted] and he requested any available public source information which could be used to forestall this action. He also requested public source information concerning the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).

Congressman Row (D-Ohio) is on the Special Correspondents List.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached blind memoranda, containing public source information concerning [redacted] and IPS and the attached public source material regarding IPS, be furnished to Congressman Row by Mr. Mohr.

Enclosures

SPV:rm  
(11)

b6  
b7C

1 - 100-336016 [redacted]  
1 - 100-447935 (IPS)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [redacted]

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-447935

NOT RECORDED

DEC 29 1971

SURE

4N141R

FBI

Date: 11/30/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] ATTN: DID b3  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES [REDACTED] (P) b7E  
SUBJECT: MC LEK  
SIO

Re WFO airtel 11/5/71; Buairtel 11/10/71; BS  
airtel 11/23/71.

Referenced airtels relate to sequence of events of  
the unauthorized disclosure of the Pentagon Papers and the con-  
nection between [REDACTED] IPS.

In the absence of cooperative witnesses or physical  
evidence it is only possible to speculate on what actually  
occurred or what alliances were entered into between [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Qualified as such, Los Angeles  
suggests the following may have occurred.

3- Bureau (RM) 9  
1 - 100-447935 (LPS) b3  
2- Boston [REDACTED] (RM) b7E  
2- New York [REDACTED] (RM)  
2- Washington Field [REDACTED] (RM)  
2- Los Angeles  
RFK:fet  
(11)

100-447935-

NOT RECORDED  
DEC 9 1971 b3  
b7D  
b7E

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/88

Approved: [Signature]  
JUN 14 1972 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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LA [ ]

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1. [ ] acted independently in reaching his decision [ ] in his possession and his purpose was to make these [ ]

It is not felt that [ ] had formed any alliance with others at this time (October 1969) as he apparently lacked counsel. [ ]

2. [ ] made only one or at the most, two [ ]

[ ] has testified that [ ]

3. [ ]

[ ] while in Washington, D.C. may have contacted IPS who could have made one or two [ ] keeping one for themselves and providing [ ] with a spare set. This is compatible with IPS statements as set forth in referenced WFO airtel that IPS was in possession [ ]

4. [ ]

This is borne out by the frenzied and risk-taking activity by [ ] in using [ ]

Had [ ]



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LA [REDACTED]

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If [REDACTED] had a borrowed set that had to be returned this could be the reason for [REDACTED] urgency

[REDACTED]

It is to be noted that RICHARD J. BARNET of the IPS was in Cambridge at the Hotel Continental at the same time [REDACTED] was there, 3/21-23/71.

5. [REDACTED] independently decided to make [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Los Angeles does not believe that this was a joint decision of IPS and [REDACTED] in order to let the news media

[REDACTED]

6. [REDACTED] the "Times" had reached some sort of agreement [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In May 1971 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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LA [redacted]

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[redacted] had put a lot of time and money in the project.

If [redacted] had only one copy, or limited copies of the documents at that time, he must have been presented with a dilemma as to how to get additional copies made rapidly. [redacted] it would be extremely risky to use commercial facilities.

8. [redacted] turned to "think alike" in the Cambridge area for assistance. In this case it was most likely [redacted] All had copying facilities available to them [redacted] In addition, it is most likely that at least [redacted] had prior knowledge of [redacted] the documents and/or his intentions.

9. IPS, Washington, D.C., was not directly involved in the distribution of the documents to the news media.

Were this the case, IPS, WDC, using its own facilities, could have made all copies necessary and provided these to the Washington bureau staffs of the involved newspapers. Instead, these staffs were contacted telephonically and told to come to the Boston area to receive their copies. This, despite the possibility of further incriminating [redacted]

10. Senator GRAVEL of Alaska most likely received a copy of the documents from [redacted] of IPS, WDC, or was assisted by [redacted] and/or the IPS in making copies of the Senate's copy of the documents as provided by the Department of Defense.

[redacted] may have been acting independently of IPS in assisting Senator GRAVEL as [redacted] acting in behalf of GRAVEL made the documents available to the "Beacon Press" in Boston.

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LA [ ]

It would seem that the "Beacon Press" publication of a book on the subject would be in competition with IPS' similar book "Washington Plans on Aggressive War" (WPAW).

11. The assistance that [ ] received could have been limited to a relatively small number of people, namely [ ] and a few trusted youths known to the above.

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Working together and with modern copying facilities this group could have performed the copying activities in the time allotted. The distribution to the news media was simple enough - calls to the Washington staffs with instructions of where the material could be picked up, which did not require a large number of persons to be involved. Further, due to the prominence of these individuals and perhaps with more common sense than [ ] exhibited earlier, it is unlikely that they would wish to involve any more persons than necessary in their activity.

Los Angeles believes this investigation is proceeding in an orderly and successful fashion. To substantiate the speculations set out above will require information from a source having first-hand knowledge. At present it would appear such a source would be an individual closely associated with [ ] or a member of the press.

The possibility always exists that continuing investigative pressure exerted on the individuals involved may cause personal conflict among these individuals which would lead one to come forth with the necessary information to incriminate the others. [ ] public statements may incur the wrath of others involved.

FBI

Date: 11/23/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] (ATTN: DOMINTEL)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON [REDACTED] (P)

b3

b7E

SUBJECT: RE LEK - SIG

I.P.S.

Re WFO airtel, 11/5/71, and Bureau airtel, 11/10/71.

Referenced WFO airtel describes itself as being an effort to ascertain sequence of events related to the unauthorized disclosure of the McNamara Study. The following is set forth pertaining to this sequence and to the connection between [REDACTED] IPS.

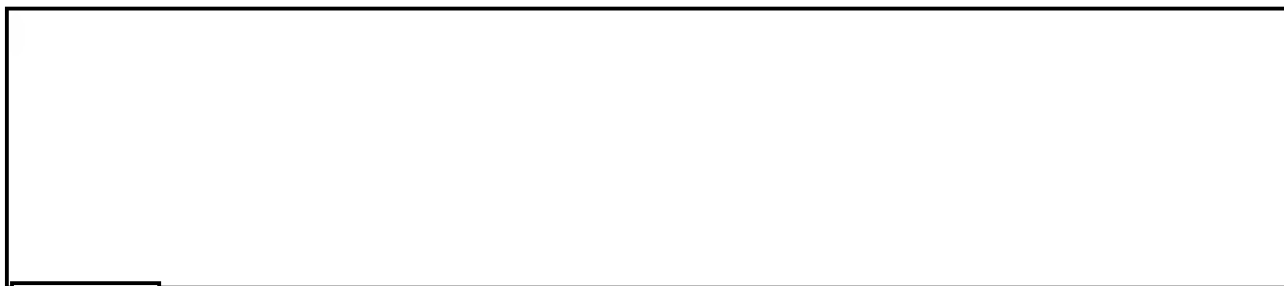
b6

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As recipients are aware, ELLSBERG is the self-admitted leak of the 47 volume Pentagon Study (press conference, 8/5/71).



100-447935-

In a press conference connected with his surrender on June 25, 1971, ELLSBERG said that he was solely responsible for

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
 ② - 100-447935  
 2 - Los Angeles [REDACTED] (RM)  
 2 - New York [REDACTED] (RM)  
 2 - WFO [REDACTED] (RM)  
 2 - [REDACTED] (RM)

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NOT RECORDED  
 JUN 3 1971  
 CARBON COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/20/80

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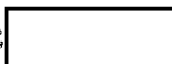
ORIGINAL FILED IN

61 DEC 8 1971

BOSTON

JUN 14 1972 vh

SS

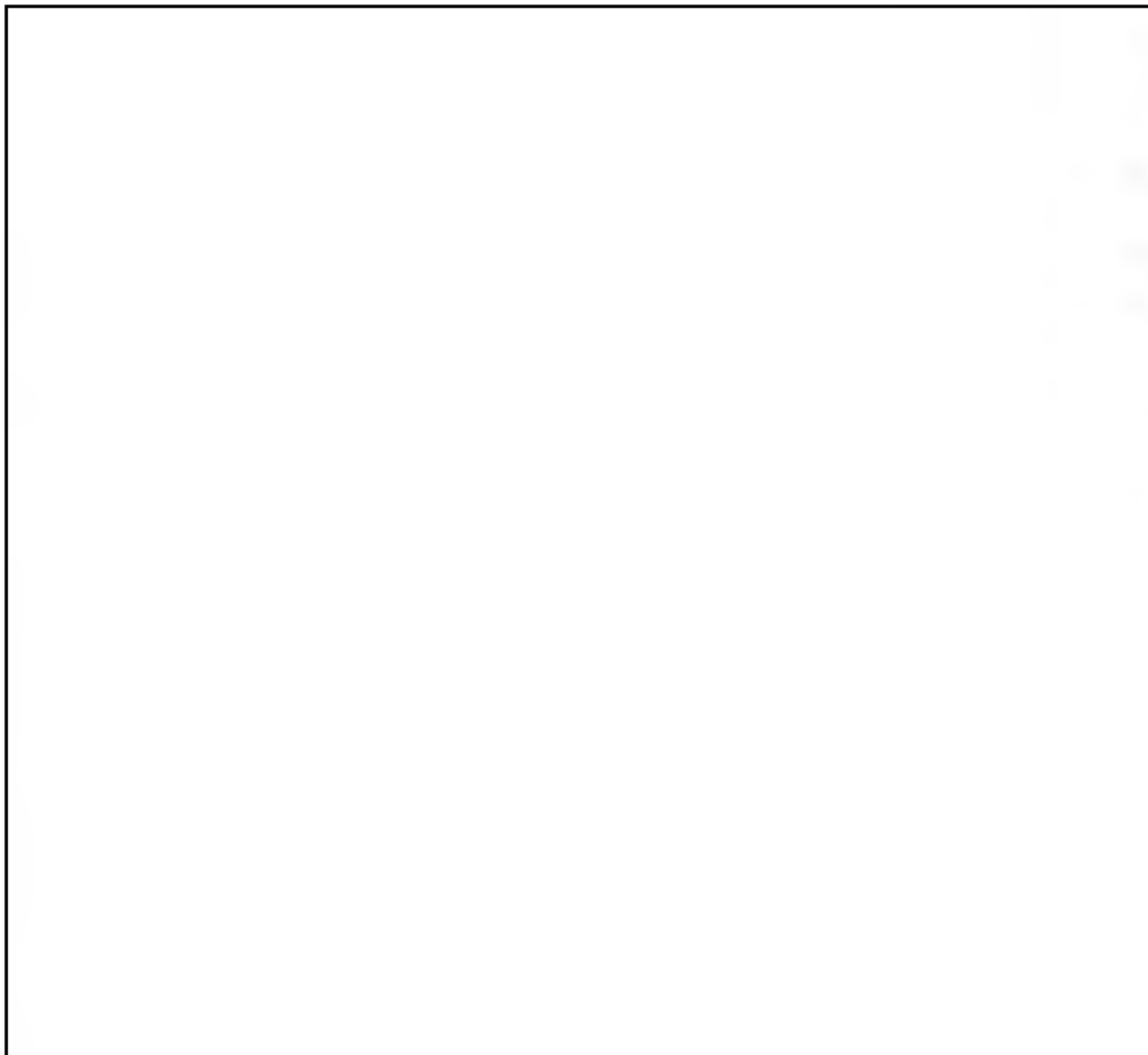


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the decision to give the Pentagon Papers information to the newspapers and that he took this action on his own initiative.

At a 7/1/71 press conference ELLSBERG stated that he and newspapers felt responsible for the decision to bring the information to the public and that he felt he was the source of all documents given to the newspapers.

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BS [redacted]

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[redacted] was registered at a Cambridge Hotel from June 12 to June 15, 1971 during which time her room was charged with calls on 6/13 to the telephone of [redacted] and an incompleted call was made on 6/14 to the telephone number of IPS, Washington, D.C. Boston feels certain that these calls were not actually placed by [redacted] who paid for the hotel room by check.

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It is recalled that the SC was offered and received the Pentagon Papers on 6/21/71.

Investigation has revealed that [redacted] of [redacted] was in Cambridge on 6/22/71 when 2 telephone calls were charged against his hotel room to the telephone of [redacted] who did not surface [redacted] was again in Cambridge, 6/24-25/71 and the Los Angeles Times published portions of the Pentagon Papers on 6/24, 26 and 7/10/71.

[redacted]

[redacted]

A toll call on the telephone number of the St. Louis Post Dispatch (PD), Washington Bureau, shows a collect person to person call placed by [redacted] from the residence telephone of [redacted] on 6/23/71 which call was to [redacted] but was accepted by [redacted]. This is undoubtedly the call referred to by [redacted].

85 [redacted]

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According to [redacted] Washington Bureau, received a long distance call from Boston or Cambridge pertaining to the availability of the Pentagon Papers. In addition the toll calls of the above telephone showed that 12 telephone calls were made and charged to the phone of the PD from or to 9 public pay phones in Cambridge on 6/24/71. A Boston agent checking on the location of these public pay phones concluded that the turnover of the McNamara Study to the PD involved an extensive physical surveillance with "dry cleaning" attempts. [redacted] was in Cambridge on 6/24/71.

[redacted] had informed that [redacted] dispatched [redacted] to Boston/Cambridge area to make pick up of Pentagon Papers material.

Referenced WFO airtel speculates that [redacted] while visiting Washington, D.C. in early 3/71 mentioned the [redacted]

Investigation by Boston has revealed that [redacted] utilizing a fictitious name, was in Cambridge 3/16-18, 3/20-23 and 4/7-8/71. [redacted] (also in Cambridge under a fictitious name) occurred during the period 3/20-23/71.

The above speculated arrangement to the effect that [redacted]

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Page 5 of referenced WFO airtel states that information set out indicates that [redacted] served [redacted] The Senator GRAVEL copy of the Pentagon Papers was furnished to Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Press on 7/23/71 [redacted] of the Pentagon Papers to the MIT Press. [redacted] GRAVEL received the papers on 6/24/71. Of course, [redacted] [redacted] but the question, unanswered to date, is who provided these papers to GRAVEL at an earlier date possibly on 6/24/71 or at least by 6/29/71 when GRAVEL read portions of the McNamara Study into the congressional record.

The above activity of [redacted] is not connected with the activities of [redacted] that is the telephone call of 6/23/71 and the possible subsequent activities of [redacted]

It is noted that RICHARD J. BARNET co-author of "Washington Plans an Aggressive War" (UPAN), co-director of IFS and associate of [redacted] was in Cambridge at Hotel Continental at same time [redacted] was at this establishment 3/21-23/71. BARNET's father has been a resident at this establishment since 1962. [redacted] phone was charged for an 8 minute telephone call on 2/25/71 to the telephone of BARNET in Washington, D.C. Hotel Continental officials have advised that BARNET and his family were in the hotel on the above occasion and periodically visited with the elder BARNET. No information developed involving BARNET with the [redacted] [redacted] which occurred during the above period.

In the event the Bureau ever obtains any significant portion of the reproduced Pentagon Papers (from news media or Congressman), Boston feels that these will contain handwritten notations. This was stated by attorney for BG in their argument in Court pertaining to injunctions against the BG. The government was prevented from examining the impounded 1300 documents after arguments presented in Court by attorneys for BG. These notations could be in the handwriting of [redacted] or in the event WFO speculation is accurate, possibly in the handwriting of individuals at IFS.



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It is the opinion of the Boston Division that the identity of the channel of transmission of Pentagon Papers to IPS is not necessarily identical to the conduit to news media. The speculation set forth in referenced WFO airtel is plausible. However, even if the DOD Bibliographic Research Team verifies that the book WPAW drew upon the Pentagon papers no valid conclusion can be made regarding the identify of the individual (s) making the disclosure to the news media.

No evidence has been developed to date linking the conduit of source material to IPS for their use in WPAW and the conduit of source material for news media disclosure.

In the event the leak to IPS is ascertained this case is still faced with ascertaining the identity of the leak to news media other than the New York Times (Boston feels that case against [redacted] is currently sufficiently developed for successful prosecution). As noted above, [redacted] played a role in this (dissemination to news media other than the New York Times) with the phone call to PD on 6/23/71 at a time when government had legal proceedings prohibiting continued publication by New York Times, Washington Post and BG.

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It is further observed that due to apparent poor security charge-out system at Rand any material at this facility or its branches could have come into [redacted] No examination limitations should be made to [redacted]

WFO and Los Angeles are requested to provide Boston with analysis of Rand employees (current and past) associated in any fashion with IPS. Boston submitting under separate communication its views on new investigative avenues which could logically be pursued in this matter.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 10 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, ES \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Fonder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NR009 WF CODE

5:02 PM NITEL 12-10-71 SKA

TO DIRECTOR

BUFFALO

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS), IS, DASH

NEW LEFT (BUFILE ONE ZERO ZERO, DASH, FOUR FOUR SEVEN NINE

THREE FIVE) (WFO FILE ONE ZERO ZERO, DASH, FOUR SIX SEVEN

EIGHT FOUR).

CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II,  
DATE OF REVIEW

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE

b6  
b7c

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE

INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED ON

WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

DEC 28 1971

b6  
b7c  
b7D

57 DEC 30 1971

PERS. REC. UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

THE ABOVE INFORMATION WAS FURNISHED ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS AND CANNOT BE MADE PUBLIC EXCEPT UPON ISSUANCE OF A SUBPOENA DUCES TECUM.

THE IPS HAS BEEN PUBLICLY DESCRIBED AS THE THINK FACTORY OF THE NEW LEFT WHICH HELPS TRAIN EXTREMISTS WHO INCITE VIOLENCE AND WHOSE EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH SERVES AS A COVER FOR INTRIGUE AND POLITICAL AGITATION.

IT IS NOTED THAT [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] INDICATED ON NOVEMBER NINETEEN, LAST THAT HE WAS IN WDC ON A QUOTE FLYING TRIP UNQUOTE AT THE EXPENSE OF IPS. IT IS FURTHER NOTED THAT [REDACTED] HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED AS A SPEAKER AT IPS DURING THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER TWENTYFOUR, LAST, AT WHICH TIME HE SPOKE ON THE TOPIC OF RACISM, SPECIFICALLY THE EXPLOITATION OF BLACK POLICEMEN BY THE QUOTE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE UNQUOTE. ~~(S)~~ (U)

END PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE, DASH, NON-SYMBOL SOURCE

REFERENCE BUREAU AIRTEL, DECEMBER TWO, LAST, AND WFO  
AIRTELS NOVEMBER NINETEEN, TWENTY THREE AND TWENTY SIX, LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] TO WHOM APPROPRIATE SUBPOENA DUCES TECUM SHOULD BE  
DIRECTED IN THE EVENT INFORMATION DENOTED IS REQUESTED.

BUFFALO REQUESTED TO DISCREETLY ASCERTAIN IF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CURRENTLY RESIDING AT [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

THIS PAGE IS TO BE RETAINED IN HEADQUARTERS CITY AT  
ALL TIMES.

P

END

MRF FBI WA DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

SAC, WFO (100-46784)

12/16/71

Director, FBI (100-447935)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS - NEW LEFT

Enclosed for WFO are two Xerox copies of a leaflet captioned "Institute for Policy Studies PH.D. Program," which was posted on a bulletin board at the Internal Revenue Service Building, 11th and Constitution Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C. It appears to offer an excellent opportunity to introduce an informant or source who could eventually furnish high-level information concerning captioned organization. ~~(S)~~ (U)

You should review qualifications of current informants and sources in an effort to locate a candidate for this program. Should you locate an informant or source who you feel qualifies for this program and could successfully infiltrate captioned organization in connection therewith, advise the Bureau of all details prior to any personal contact of IPS by the source. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Enclosures - 2

b6  
b7C

WGD:jvl  
(4) *SVL*

*5/20/80*  
CLASS. & EXT. BY [REDACTED]  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW *12/16/91*

NOTE:

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

*OK*  
IPS leaflet located on Internal Revenue Service Building's bulletin board and furnished Domestic Intelligence Division by Justice Department representative. Leaflet announced IPS PH.D. program under auspices of Union Graduate School, Yellow Springs, Ohio. This program appears to offer excellent entre for informant in IPS, and WFO instructed as above. ~~(S)~~ (U) *124*

MAILED 5

DEC 15 1971

FBI

REC-2

EX-101

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF *Class.*  
*7-15-80/C*

DEC 15 1971

*55 DEC 21 1971*

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

EX-101

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

	<u>SSC</u>		<u>HSC</u>	62-116464-214	
ACC.	_____	DATE	_____	DATE	_____
DEL.	_____	DATE	_____	DATE	11/14/76

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, WFO (100-46784)

12/16/71

Director, FBI (100-447935)

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS - NEW LEFT**

The House Committee on Internal Security (HCIS) has expressed an interest in IPS and is considering holding hearings on this organization next year. Approval has been obtained to furnish HCIS public source information concerning IPS. In this connection you are instructed to submit to the Bureau copies of all available public source documents concerning captioned organization. Examples of such items are as follows: The article from the 9/24/67 issue of "The Examiner" by Edith Kermit Roosevelt entitled "Washington Think Factory Trains Extremists;" the pamphlet put out by the Institute for Policy Studies entitled "The First Three Years;" the two-part series which appeared in Barron's Magazine 10/6/69 and 10/13/69 entitled "Radical Think Tank, the Institute for Policy Studies Aims to Disarm the United States" and "Ivory Tower Activists - IPS Fellows Lead the Radical Thrust for Social Change;" the article which appeared in Esquire Magazine 3/19/71 entitled "The Thinking of Positive Power."

Submit as soon as possible copies of the above-mentioned articles as well as any other public source documents showing the aims and subversive nature of captioned organization.

WGD:jvl  
(4)**NOTE:**

Memorandum for L. Shackelford to E. S. Miller dated 11/11/71 captioned as above indicated that HCIS could be interested in holding hearings on IPS next year. The Director approved furnishing public source and background information to HCIS concerning captioned group to further public exposure of this group's revolutionary and subversive role in society.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.  
NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DATE <u>11/14/75</u>

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 12/21/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 12-20-2011

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
IS-NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

Enclosed are five copies for the Bureau and one information copy for New York of an LHM, dated and captioned as above, setting forth information pertaining to financial transactions of captioned institute.



b7D

Records of the Office of the Clerk of the Surrogate Court, Westchester County, White Plains, New York, concerning the will of DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN that had been filed for probate, were reviewed by SA WILLIAM A. FLYNN, JR., on 4/28/71.

The LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in view of the confidential nature of the information denoted, the unauthorized disclosure of which could prove prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.

7/16/75 0-7 to WFO, NY (aa)  
Re. WFO let and LHM, 12/21/71.  
Declassify LHM.

REC-34

ST-103

12 DEC 21 1971

- 2- Bureau (Enc 5) *copy attached*  
1- New York *[redacted]*  
1- WFO

(E b3 b7E) (Info)

JAV:sas  
(4)

AGENCY *RAA (ISD) IRS*  
REQ. REC'D *12-27-71*  
DATE FORW. *by RLS*  
HOW FORW. *WSD/AN jcc 924D*  
BY *ice destroyed*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *5/20/80* BY *SP-10*



51 JAN

## NON-SYMBOL SOURCE PAGE ATTACHED

00.4 INTELL DIV.

DEC 23 12 06 PM '71

SENSITIVITY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

I NOTE FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

<u>SSC</u>		<u>HSC</u> 62-116464-214	
ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <u>/</u>	DATE <u>11/14/75</u>

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-108670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED, \_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

WFO 100-46784

ADMINISTRATIVE - NON-SYMBOL SOURCE  
WFO let and LHM, 12/21/71

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] to whom appropriate  
subpoena duces tecum should be directed in the event request  
is made for information set out.

b6  
b7C  
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THIS PAGE IS TO BE RETAINED IN  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535  
December 21, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

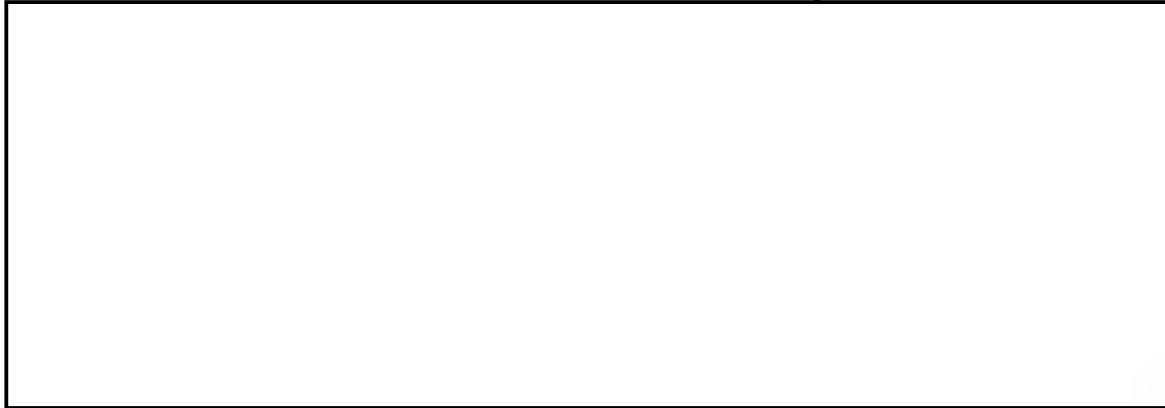
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D. C. (WDC), weekly newspaper, "The Examiner." She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

On December 10, 1971, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past and is in a

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 12/21/71

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Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification

ENCLOSURE

7/15/75  
Declassified  
per 3347-  
43

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
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DATE 7/15/80

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

The above information was furnished on a confidential basis and cannot be made public except upon the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

Records of the Office of the Clerk of the Surrogate Court, Westchester County, White Plains, New York, reviewed on April 28, 1971, disclosed that Daniel J. Bernstein, 385 Fort Hill Road, Scarsdale, New York, died August 20, 1970, at White Plains Hospital, White Plains, New York. He was survived by [REDACTED]

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Daniel J. Bernstein's will dated March 30, 1970, which had been filed for probate, was signed and witnessed at Harkness Pavilion, Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, New York City. [REDACTED] was named executrix with a provision that his friend [REDACTED] located at [REDACTED] be named as successor executor if for any reason [REDACTED] should decide not to act as executrix. A motion had been made for the appointment of this successor executor.

The will, file number 3061/1970 in Westchester County, New York, Surrogate's Office, provided in part, as follows:

Daniel J. Bernstein devised everything of real property and tangible personal property to his wife. Of a "residual" estate, Bernstein devised one quarter share to the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., WDC, provided that his friends, Marcus Raskin or Richard Barnet, were directors of the Institute and further provided that either should have the power to determine how the money should be spent.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

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The value of the estate was estimated at not less than one million dollars, but no accounting had been filed and no list of holdings or appraisal had been made.

Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnet have been publicly identified as co-directors of IPS.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Federal Bureau of Investigation

July 16, 1975

Director  
Intelligence Division  
Office of Assistant Commissioner (Compliance)  
Room 7238  
Internal Revenue Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D.C. 20224

- ☐ 1. For your information, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
- ☐ 2. It will be appreciated if you will have the investigation conducted as requested in the enclosed memorandum and furnish the results.
- ☐ 3. No further investigation is contemplated with regard to this matter.
- ☐ 4. You will be advised of the pertinent developments in connection with this inquiry.
- ☐ 5. Please note change in caption of this case.
- ☐ 6. Status of case: ☐ Completed ☐ Incomplete

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/20/80 BY [signature]

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Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

NOTE: Please declassify memorandum captioned "Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.," which is dated 12/21/71 at Washington, D.C. It was classified Confidential.

Enc.

LJB/tae

File copy

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>WASHINGTON FIELD</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>WASHINGTON FIELD</b>	DATE <b>12/17/71</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>6/25/71-12/9/71</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C.</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>dam</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS - NEW LEFT</b>	

REFERENCE: WFO report of SA  dated 6/29/71.ADMINISTRATIVE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

- P - AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) OF

DATE

*Class*  
*7-15-80JC*

This report has been classified "Confidential" because information denoted was obtained from confidential sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which could prove prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.

In the interests of clarity and brevity, detailed reporting of the activities of individuals associated or in contact with captioned organization is not being set out in this report inasmuch as those activities are referred to separate case captions.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

7/16/75 D-7 to WFO, & other offices (22)  
R/S to AF (OIA), Army (OIA), Navy (OIA), State (OIA), Dept. (OIA), IRS (OIA), Bureau of Prisons (OIA), DIA (OIA)

APPROVED *[Signature]*

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12 DEC 20 1971  
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EX-104

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## NON-SYMBOL SOURCE PAGE ATTACHED

Dissemination Record b7E Attached Report		Notations
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Date Fwd.	12-20-71	
How Fwd.	by R/S	
By	WGD/RN ICC 924 D	

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DATE OF REVIEW 12/17/91

59 JAN 10 1972

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- 1 - Newark (Info)
- 1 - New York (100-161181) (Info)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-61761) (Info)

Information pertaining to possible involvement of captioned organization or representatives thereof with MC LEK case (Bufile [redacted] WFOfile [redacted] is being limited to public source material in the details of this report in view of potential criminal prosecutive proceedings in the MC LEK investigation.

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Records of the Office of Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia, Corporation Division, used to characterize The New Classroom, were reviewed by SA [redacted] on 12/8/71.

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The following sources familiar with New Left matters in the Washington, D. C. area were contacted on the dates indicated concerning captioned organization and no additional information was furnished other than that reported herein or included in instant WFO file.

SourceDateAgent

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12/9/71  
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Source

Date

Agent

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[Redacted Source]

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[Redacted Agent]

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INFORMANTS

Informant

Location

(U) ~~X~~

WF T-1 is

[Redacted Informant]

[Redacted Location]

WF T-2 is

WFO files 100-46784-642 and  
[Redacted]

WF T-3 is

Used to characterize [Redacted]  
[Redacted]

WF T-4 is

WFO file 100-46784-679

WF T-5 is

WFO file 100-46784-849, 941,  
958, 967 and 1A-24, 29

WF T-6 is

WFO file 100-51697-11, 12

WF T-7 is

[Redacted Location]

WF T-8 is

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Informant

Location

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Source Page attached)

WFO file 100-46784-640, 668, 750,  
845, 953 and instant report

WF T-10 is

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LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD

AT WASHINGTON, D. C. Investigation regarding IPS  
is continuing at WFO.

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ADMINISTRATIVE - NON-SYMBOL SOURCE

WFO report of SA [REDACTED]  
captioned INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.,  
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WF T-9 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ~~(U)~~ (U)

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# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Report of: [Redacted]  
Date: 12/17/71

Office: Washington, D. C.

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Field Office File #: 100-46784

Bureau File #: 100-447935

Title: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
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DATE 7-15-82/c

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

## Synopsis:

The popular impression of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) as the "think tank" of radical United States politics is said to be justified. Task force projects of the Institute for academic year 1971 - 1972 are denoted under seven main issues, The State, The Political Economy, The New Society and Its Health, The Culture and Religion, Relations with Other Nations and People, The Encyclopedia and Project Groups, and Training and Educating Ph.D's. Meetings were held at IPS by the W. E. B. Du Bois School of Marxist Studies, Federal Employees for Peace and the Vinceremos Brigade, in addition to an Election '72 Seminar and meetings of the IPS Prison Project and Middle East Research and Information Project.

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An IPS publication and various newspaper articles indicate representatives of IPS utilized portions of the "Pentagon Papers" in a study of the Vietnam War.

- P -

*upheld 6/6049*  
*5/19/71*  
*pk/bec*

*7/15/75*  
*Declassified*  
*pk*

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CLASS. & EXT. BY [Redacted]  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/17/71

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1969 O - 306-36

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DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been characterized in an article by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT appearing on page 22 of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former Washington, D. C. (WDC), weekly newspaper, "The Examiner." She stated in part that the IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

On September 29, 1971, WF T-1 related the following interpretative information on the role taken by IPS in radical politics: ~~(S)~~ (U)

The popular impression of IPS as the "think tank" of radical United States politics is justified. It has taken and continues to take a major role in the anti-war movement and calls for disarmament. While IPS people see themselves as leaders of radical thought, they appear to be leaders without a popular constituency. Radicals, liberals et al will attend a meeting convened by IPS, but then quickly realize that the meeting is rigidly controlled by IPS personnel and that IPS ideas are not to be rejected. It would appear that the entire IPS apparatus enjoys the position of radical leadership, but the academic direction taken by its personnel will always isolate them from popular support. The IPS is very conscious of its lacking in staff personnel who are prepared to follow through on projects, and it appears to be an organization of "all chiefs and no Indians." ~~(S)~~ (U)

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~~(U)~~

II. IPS TASK FORCE PROJECTS, 1971-1972

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~~(U)~~

~~(U)~~

B. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

1. Appalachian Regional Economic Studies - Deals with the transformation of Appalachia into a decolonized area. The Peoples' Appalachian Research Collective operates in Morgantown, West Virginia, and at the Institute. It has organized a community union, an energy industry reporting service, a magazine, and it has developed a workbook on regional economic development.

The article appearing in the March, 1971, edition of Esquire Magazine, entitled "The Thinking of Positive Power," by GARRY WILLS, reports that IPS Fellow ROBB BURLAGE "has recruited a team of people to revitalize the Appalachian region." It notes that BURLAGE's project was begun several years ago and "anticipated many environmental concerns - the revelations of power - industry laxness, the treatment of ecosystems as a whole, citizens' actions against regional polluters." The author attributes the team of BURLAGE as being one of the first groups to make the tie-in between young rebels and exploited workers.

ROBB KENDRICK BURLAGE is publicly described as an IPS Resident Fellow, A. B. University of Texas; Research Fellow, Harvard University; formerly Director of Research, State Planning Office, State of Tennessee and author of articles on economics. He has been identified as a leader of the Peoples' Appalachian Research Collective (PARC).

WFO 100-46784

(U)

~~X~~ Concerning the Ph.D. program, on October 13, 1971,  
WF T-1 furnished a copy [redacted]  
[redacted]

which follows:

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III. MEETINGS HELD AT IPS

A. W. E. B. DU BOIS SCHOOL OF MARXIST STUDIES (DSMS) -  
A source advised that the DSMS would sponsor a class "Anarchism and Marxism," commencing July 14, 1971, at IPS and co-taught by KARL HESS, III [REDACTED]

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[WF T-2  
July 9, 1971] ~~C~~

(U)

The W. E. B. DuBois School of Marxist Studies (DuBois School), WDC, is self-identified through its Spring, 1971, catalog as having been founded because "...many activists do not relate to or comprehend the social forces, the mass movements, and the quality of organization and leadership needed for revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the most urgent requirement at the present time, whether in the ghettos or elsewhere, is to organize the people and to spread as widely as possible a knowledge of Marxism as the Science of Social Change."

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[REDACTED]  
In September of 1947, WF T-3 identified [REDACTED] as a very conscientious communist who was an active member of the Communist Party (CP) in 1935.

(U)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] advised in 1948 that on August 7, 1948, [REDACTED] stated that she received a CP transfer from New York for [REDACTED] Subsequently, in 1948, [REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] would be assigned to a Local Community Club of the CP.

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A source furnished the following course outline for the DSMS sponsored class, "Anarchism and Marxism," held on Wednesday nights at IPS:

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| Session 1  | Defining Anarchism and Marxism.  |
| Session 2  | A Brief History and Marxist Critique of Anarchist Movements in the United States of America. |
| Session 3  | The State, Its Role for Anarchists.  |
| Session 4  | The State, Its Role for Marxists.  |
| Session 5  | How Do We Change Society?  |
| Session 6  | Freedom and the Individual, Anarchist and Marxist Conceptions.                               |
| Session 7  | The Libertarian Point of View: STIRNER and RAND.   |
| Session 8  | The Role of Anarchists and Marxists in Major Historical Episodes.                            |
| Session 9  | The Paris Commune.   |
| Session 10 | Kronstadt.   |
| Session 11 | The Spanish Civil War.   |
| Session 12 | Are the Socialist Countries Moving Toward a Free Society?                                    |

WF T-4  
August 3, 1971

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A source furnished a copy of the course outline on "Labor History," a continuation of the Anarchism/Marxism study group, beginning Wednesday evening, 7:30 p.m., October 20, 1971, and continuing every Wednesday thereafter at IPS. The joint discussion course, led by HESS [REDACTED] was outlined as follows:

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- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| Session 1  | Ethnic - Cultural Background of the American Society; The First Black <u>and</u> White Slaves. |
| Session 2  | Colonial Workers and Their Role in the American Revolution                                     |
| Session 3  | Organizing Begins and the Era of Utopian Socialism Unfolds (1783-1837).                        |
| Session 4  | Working Men and Women in the Civil War.  |
| Session 5  | The Economy Develops (1860-1873); Class and Democracy.   |
| Session 6  | Class Lines Harden; Militancy and Struggles Before the Turn of the Century.                    |
| Session 7  | Political Action and Class Consciousness (1896-1900).  |
| Session 8  | Industrial and Financial Monopoly Develops; State Power Moves Against Labor (1900-1914).       |
| Session 9  | Trade Unionism and the First World War.  |
| Session 10 | New Militancy, Old Militants, and New Attacks; Socialists, Communists, Wobblies (1921-1929).   |



WFO 100-46784

Session 11

The New Deal; Liberal Illusions;  
Red-Baiting and World War II.

Session 12

The Working Class Today - A  
New Awakening?

WF T-2  
October 29, 1971

A source advised that [redacted]  
[redacted] presents a Marxist analysis of the major news events  
of the preceding week on Sundays, 2:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.,  
at IPS.

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WF T-5  
November 10, 1971

B. FEDERAL EMPLOYEES FOR PEACE (FEP) - A source  
furnished a copy of a flyer announcing a general meeting of  
the FEP would be held at IPS on September 27, 1971, at  
7:30 p.m. to discuss plans for Fall activities of the  
organization.

WF T-1  
September 29, 1971

A source advised that the FEP is a loosely  
organized group of United States Government  
workers who are totally opposed to the Vietnam  
War and seeking a forum to be able to give  
legitimate expression to their pacifist, anti-  
war views. The source further advised that  
FEP members claim the organization has no  
formal leadership and that it is composed  
of United States Government workers who have  
banded together in an informal manner so as  
to achieve a unified voice for expressing  
anti-war views.

WF T-6  
May 5, 1971

C. VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB) - A source advised that a meeting would be held at 8:00 p.m. on October 12, 1971, at IPS to promote recruitment for the Fifth Contingent of the VB. ~~C~~ (U)

[WF T-1  
October 12, 1971] ~~C~~

The VB was formed in June, 1969, by a coalition of New Left organizations to encourage American youth to travel to Cuba in defiance of a ban on travel to that country by the United States Department of State. The ostensible purpose of the travel was to assist the Castro regime in the harvesting of sugar cane and other agricultural products and to give young Americans the experience of living in a revolutionary communist country.

D. IPS PRISON PROJECT - A source advised that a meeting was held at IPS during the evening of September 21, 1971, with regard to prison conditions and to "create a National Prison Monitoring System." [redacted] identified as the principal speaker at the meeting, presented a five year program on prison reform that should provide sufficient incentive to hold the movement together for a five year period. ~~C~~ ~~TOP SECRET~~ (U)

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[WF T-1  
September 22, 1971] ~~C~~



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WFO 100-46784

A source advised the meeting at IPS on September 21, 1971, held in a conference room on the second floor, commenced at approximately 7:45 p.m., and was attended by persons interested in a recent prisoner rebellion at Attica, New York, State Penitentiary. Various forthcoming demonstrations in WDC and throughout the United States were announced and the principal speaker, who monopolized about eighty percent of the discussion time, pointed to July, 1976, as the target date for achieving their goals. He stated that if their goals are not realized by that date, another tactic would be utilized which would "resemble a Bastille." The goals were described as destruction of the present system of government in the United States, taking over of the government by the people, and replacing it with a socialist form of government.

The principal speaker further stated the present form of civil disobedience started in 1965 and has achieved much for the movement; however, there has never been any successful planning and that extensive planning is needed in order to know "the character and form the revolution will take." He indicated that direct action is needed in regard to prisons and prisoners at the present time. He stated that now is the time to start an upheaval at the Lorton Reformatory, Lorton, Virginia, and advocated a policy of allowing prisoners to run their own prison.

The meeting subsequently broke up into six workshop committees.

WF T-7

September 22, 1971

A source noted that several flyers were passed out at the September 21, 1971, meeting at IPS announcing various upcoming demonstrations in addition to a two page flyer entitled "Possible Alternatives to Imprisonment - Possible Project I: Abolition of Prisons," which comprised the central theme of [redacted] speech and follows:

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WF T-8

September 22, 1971

## Possible Alternatives to Imprisonment

### Possible Project I: Abolition of Prisons

What would be the impact of a national campaign built around the demand that by July 4, 1976, all the prisoners in all U.S. prisons must be released and the prisons abolished?

Reasons for undertaking such a campaign:

1. Intrinsically, prisons are terrible and should be closed. They are probably second only to war in inhumanity and as instruments of terror, domination and exploitation.
2. Ending prisons would require the transformation of American society: the abolition of poverty and the creation of participatory democracy and real community, at the least. For those who believe in the need for such a transformation, prisons might be an important arena or issue to raise.
3. But this has always been true: why organize now for abolition?
  - (a) Because in the last decade's general social insurgency (political, civil disobedience, drugs, etc., etc.) more middle-class people have been forced to experience the personal disastrousness of prisons--for themselves or their friends--than has been true in a very long time. They have begun to see a bit of what the poor, Blacks, etc. have been going through all this time. Thus even liberals are unusually sensitive to this issue at this moment, though most of them would also be frightened--at first--by an Abolish the Prisons campaign.
  - (b) Because the same general social insurgency has helped politicize people who have long been victims of prisons. Increasing numbers of prisoners and ex-prisoners now see their personal suffering as the result of a political reality, possibly subject to change by political action.
4. More Americans are now more awake to the possibility and desirability of a basic social transformation than for a long time, and therefore fewer Americans would be likely to be totally freaked out by an Abolish the Prisons campaign that accepted and argued the necessity of basic transformation.
5. There are strong nonviolent, libertarian, decentralist, and communitarian threads in the movement which have so far had no great leading issues around which to argue, create, invent, their own work. (Except perhaps that campaigns for Black liberation in the early '60s and women's liberation now

2

have done this--but each has built-in limits on participation.) Of course nonviolent, etc. groups have worked against the war, against the draft, for counter-communities, etc.; but the war has been the only great national issue around which many many local groups have been able to create their own politics, and on that issue nonviolent, libertarian, decentralist, and communitarian thought has been drowned out by Statist thought--whether liberal or Marxist. A movement to Abolish Prisons would make anti-Statist politics much more real and definable.

"Abolish Prisons" would be a way of raising issues of domestic racism, repression; and exploitation that have rarely been well raised in the last decade--only momentarily around "Free Bobby" or "Free the Chicago Conspiracy," and never in terms of our own knowledge that all prisoners are political prisoners. The jails are the domestic equivalent of Vietnam--that is, the worst continuous example of domestic domination as Vietnam is of foreign imperialism.

Blacks and poor whites are traditionally those most often jailed, but "middle-class" radicals and counter-culture people are already being jailed and can expect to be more. Thus campaigning to Abolish Prisons should open possibilities of coalition, cross-class contact, etc., that would be new. An "Abolish Prisons" campaign would not be "for others" only, but for all who engage in it. Usually, good politics comes out of being for-yourself-and-others.

The campaign could include a whole range of approaches and tactics: committees to investigate local jails, legal suits arguing all imprisonment is cruel and unusual punishment, mass demos outside jails, demands for universal amnesties from governors and the President, analysis of the nature and causes of "crime," experimental projects in dealing with "criminals" in totally different non-compulsion ways, sit-downs from inside and outside the jails, walk-ins, etc. etc. Colleges could take on the job of closing the jail nearest them--etc.

The first stunned fear we would meet from most people would have to be answered by at least a beginning discussion of alternatives--both in terms of "What kind of society doesn't need jails?" and in terms of "What other ways could be used to deal with 'crime'?" We would have five years, 'till 1976, to create alternatives.

Probably, as with the "End the War Now" campaign that began in '66, "Abolish Prisons" would help create a series of waves of lesser demands: jail reform, community control of cops, free "political" prisoners only, work-release, conjugal visits, etc. etc.

Such a campaign might help combat the increasing "repression" campaign by setting a further out "boundary" on the left by which to measure.

It would be very good for the movement to think, plan, and work on a 5-year time scale.

WFO 100-46784

A source advised that [redacted]  
[redacted] are presently involved in an IPS campaign to "abolish  
Prisons" and furnished the following copy of a memorandum,  
authored by [redacted], and captioned "Proposed  
Basic Strategy of IPS Prison Project:"

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WF T-1  
September 29, 1971



A source advised that a meeting was held at IPS during the evening of October 5, 1971, concerning the prison project. This meeting, dominated by [redacted] [redacted] was attended by approximately thirty-five persons and the discussion centered upon previous demonstrations at prisons and plans for a possible forthcoming teach-in for the abolition of prisons.

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[WF T-5  
October 6, 1971] ~~C~~

A source related that a seminar on the prison system was scheduled to be held at IPS on October 17, 1971. The stated purpose of the seminar was to provide information for those who wish to remain seriously involved with the project. Plans were made to utilize speakers who have had personal experience in prisons, organizing prisoners and support groups, and involvement in the search for alternatives to the prison system. ~~C~~

[WF T-1  
October 13, 1971] ~~C~~

A source noted that a general meeting on the prison project was scheduled at IPS during the evening of November 2, 1971. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the goal and politics of the group and to develop a more specific focus or thrust in terms of overall objectives. ~~C~~

This source subsequently advised it was decided at the meeting that (1) more emphasis should be placed on the business and purpose of the meetings; (2) more publicity would be necessary for the project to survive; (3) the workshops should increase and become more cooperative; (4) more people should become better acquainted; (5) more endorsements should be made to prison abolition studies; and (6) more funds would have to be raised for the survival of the project. ~~C~~

[WF T-5  
November 3, 1971. and  
November 10, 1971] ~~C~~

A source related that thirty-two individuals were in attendance at the prison project meeting at IPS on November 2, 1971. The group, which named itself the "D. C. Commons," was comprised of individuals concerned about conditions in jails. ~~C~~

~~WF T-7  
November 3, 1971~~ ~~C~~

A conference entitled "Alternatives to Prison" and described as a "gathering of people who are involved in concrete work in prison struggles" was scheduled to be held at IPS November 13 - 15, 1971, as a part of the overall IPS prison project. It was understood that a budget of \$1,500 had been allocated to the IPS prison project and that more money was being sought. An agenda for the conference listed discussion topics as (1) State of the Internal Prison Struggle; (2) Summary and Projections; (3) State of the Prison Support Struggle; and (4) The Abolition Demand and Its Implications. ~~C~~

~~WF T-1  
November 2, 1971~~ ~~C~~

A source was advised that the conference at IPS during the weekend of November 13-15, 1971, concerned the prison issue and was attended by persons from throughout the country. It was indicated to the source that

would devote their energies to national activities concerning the prison issue and the Red House Collective would handle the issue on the WDC level. It was further noted that future plans for prison abolition activities in WDC were indefinite and those individuals on the mailing list for the prison abolition project would be notified by newsletter of any forthcoming activities. ~~C~~

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~~WF T-5  
November 16, 1971, and  
November 22, 1971~~ ~~C~~



WFO 100-46784

The Red House Collective is publicly described as a radical bookstore located at 1247 20th Street, N.W., WDC.

E. ELECTION '72 SEMINAR - A source furnished a copy of an IPS memorandum, dated November 16, 1971, noting that an "Election '72 Seminar" would be held at IPS at 2:00 p.m. on November 17, 1971, "to analyze where the movement is at this time." The memorandum further noted that, "Out of the seminar last friday came a general agreement that the 1972 election should be the focus of a series of seminars involving a variety of people...."

WF T-5  
November 26, 1971

F. MIDDLE EAST RESEARCH AND INFORMATION PROJECT - A source furnished a copy of an undated IPS memorandum noting that a meeting of the Middle East Research and Information Project would be held at IPS at 2:00 p.m. on October 22, 1971. The discussion was planned to center upon political and economic developments in and around Israel.

WF T-1  
November 2, 1971

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The above section concerning finances cannot be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

WF T-9  
July 2, 1971 -  
December 2, 1971

The Bay Area Institute (BAI), 9 Sutter Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California, has been publicly described as an offshoot of IPS, having been supplied by the parent organization with seed money, advice, connections, lawyers and angels, but representing an implicit criticism of the WDC Institute.

Concerning the Institute for Southern Studies and/or IPS, Atlanta, Georgia, WF T-10 advised in July, 1970, that IPS had opened an office at 5 Forsyth Street in Atlanta and thereafter reported that IPS was allegedly studying the effects of war on the southern economy, that it was conducting research on war-related industries in the South, and that its purpose was to identify war-related industrial contractors in the **Atlanta area** to determine the extent of the part played by these contractors in what they termed the "military industrial complex." In February, 1971, this source reported that the Atlanta IPS was affiliated with the IPS headquartered in WDC, and in Atlanta this group was being referred to as the Institute for Southern Studies (ISS).

The Center for Black Education (CBE) has been previously characterized herein.

The Drum and Spear Bookstore was described in essence in the August 8, 1968, edition of "The Washington Post Times Herald," a WDC daily newspaper, on Page B-1, as a bookstore specializing in literary works by Negro authors and books on Asian, African or Afro-American subjects. The bookstore is owned by the Afro-American Resources, Incorporated, [REDACTED]

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The Afro-American Resources, Incorporated, according to its articles of incorporation, which were filed in WDC, is a charitable, educational corporation, whose purposes are to serve humanity by emphasizing Afro-American resources.

The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in 1960 during the period of civil rights activity in the South. The organization advocates the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States.

The tabloid, "Off Our Backs," 2318 Ashmead Place, N.W., WDC, 20009, has been publicly described as a publication by a group of women concerned with women's liberation.

Records of the Office of Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia, Corporation Division, in Certificate Number 702396 contain the articles of incorporation for The New Classroom, 3735 Joclyn Street, N.W., WDC, which had been filed on October 7, 1970. These articles indicate The New Classroom was non-profit, domestic, perpetual in duration, and was formed for charitable, educational, scientific and literary aims. Its purposes are shown as promotion of seminars and publications on matters of public and scholarly interests, and support of scholarly and literary efforts by the organization's faculty and Fellows.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

As noted previously in this report under Section II, IPS Task Force Projects, 1971-1972, an examination of the functions of the State apparatus, and its dismantling, was denoted as an aim of the National Security State Studies group. Included in this project was compilation and completion of the publication Washington Plans an Aggressive War together with its soon-to-be published companion volume, Washington Wages an Aggressive War.

The back cover page of the book, Washington Plans an Aggressive War, denotes the following:

"This book is a view of what happened in the Vietnam war, why it happened, and what steps need to be taken to prevent it from happening again.

"Messrs. STAVINS, BARNET and RASKIN assert that the war was no accident; that it was not the result of ~~incalculable~~ <sup>inevitable</sup> errors but was rather the

consequence of calculable plans and decisions to proceed with them. The authors have set out to discover the roots of the war and the means by which the leaders of our government decided to commit the population and resources of this country to the aggressive pursuit of predetermined foreign policy aims in Southeast Asia. To that end they have drawn not only on the now-famous 'Pentagon papers' but also on other government documents from the State Department, the Defense Department, the White House and the intelligence community, and also from intensive interviews with more than three hundred of the men who made the war. ||

"'Washington Plans an Aggressive War' is a revealing, firsthand study that takes us well beyond what the Pentagon's analysts have written. Twenty months in preparation, this study, and its soon-to-be published companion volume, 'Washington Wages an Aggressive War,' provide not only an intensive view of the secret deliberations at the highest levels of government, but offer an analysis of the motivation, psychology and designs of the warmakers themselves. In addition to a documented history of the planning of the war, this book contains an interpretation by RICHARD BARNET of the bureaucratic process that led to the war. There is also a series of proposals by MARCUS RASKIN to avoid such a catastrophe in the future through the restoration of representative democracy and institutional checks on secret decision-making."

The preface of this book set forth, in part, the following:

" 'Washington Plans an Aggressive War' is the result of an intensive study carried on by members of the Institute for Policy Studies over a twenty-

month period. The findings have been the subject of continuous seminars at the Institute, which is building a collection of materials on the war. The study, however, is the responsibility of its authors and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute, its trustees, or Fellows. Two of the authors of this volume, RICHARD J. BARNET and MARCUS G. RASKIN, have been students and critics of U. S. policy in Vietnam for a decade. Both witnessed the crucial escalation of the war in the Kennedy Administration while serving as officials in the Department of State and the White House. In early 1970, MARCUS RASKIN conceived the idea of a study which would attempt to explain how the Vietnam disaster happened by analyzing the planning of the war. A study team directed by RALPH STAVINS concentrated on finding out who did the actual planning which led to the decisions to bombard North Vietnam, to introduce over a half-million U. S. troops into South Vietnam, to defoliate and destroy vast areas of Indochina, and to create millions of refugees in the area. The purpose of the study was to understand how and why all this happened. We hoped to lay bare for the American people the operations of the nation security bureaucracy so that the nation might take steps to ensure that the same political pressures, ideological delusions, and bureaucratic impulses do not push us into another catastrophic involvement in which the United States once more seeks to project its power by killing on a grand scale. Thus, while we believe the study makes a contribution to general understanding of the operations of the U. S. national security structures, our primary interest is in the transformation of those structures. — INTO WHAT?

"We approached the study with two explicit biases. The first was that the war was politically and morally wrong from the outset. That bias was completely con-

firmed for us in the course of the study by mountains of documentary evidence, much of which has now been made public. It is a bias which, according to recent public opinion polls, a majority of the country now shares. The second bias was that the lawlessness of the nation-state constitutes the greatest threat to peace and human survival. The only hope of subjecting the state to law is to hold individuals who act for the state responsible for their acts. Thus the establishment of personal responsibility of national security officials for what they do in the name of the American people is the key to any program of practical reconstruction."

The Preface further notes that a team headed by STAVINS interviewed more than three hundred individuals in the course of the study, including presidential advisors, generals, admirals and other government officials in the national security and foreign policy fields. The authors claim that a number of their informants backed up oral statements with documents, including portions of the "Pentagon Papers." They further claim that their study drew upon planning operations in the Department of Defense, the White House, the Department of State, and the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Preface of the book continues as follows:

"The study is being published in two volumes. Volume II, which will appear in May, 1972, contains detailed accounts of the planning management of the air war, the defoliation program, the pacification program, and other military operations. It also contains an analysis of the character of the national security managers by MICHAEL MACCOBY, an account of the bureaucratic command structure by LEONARD RODBERG, an account of the resettlement program by MILTON KOTLER, and a legal analysis of criminal responsibility by RICHARD FALK. Volume I is in three parts: The first,

an historical essay by RALPH STAVINS, is the story of how the war happened. The second, an analytical essay by RICHARD BARNET, is an explanation of why it happened. The third, an analysis of the erosion of Congressional power and a series of proposals by MARCUS RASKIN, is a program for demilitarizing the national security bureaucracy and introducing legal standards of individual responsibility. The emphasis throughout has been on naming names, not to be vindictive but to emphasize a fundamental point: The war in Vietnam was the product of individual decisions of identifiable men. It was more than the work of a faceless 'system' or inexorable bureaucratic process. Much less can it be ascribed to the collective guilt of the American people, less than one percent of whom knew the facts. Under the national security system as it now exists, even the people's representatives in the Congress appear powerless to oppose an Executive bent on making war abroad whenever he is prepared to mislead the public to gain support for the effort.

"We believe, however, that the basic question raised by this horrendous chapter in our history is not deception. Had the Congress been fully informed or had the people been told the truth, the destruction of Vietnam under the circumstances now on the record would still have been a crime. We are prepared to believe that many of the men who have persisted for more than a decade in destroying Indochina thought - at least when they started - that they were justified in what they were doing. But the judgment by the American people of what the planners of the war did in their name must be based not on the war managers' own rationalization but on their acts. The world cannot afford to countenance acts of mass destruction because the men who give the orders claim to be sincere and upright men.



"The record establishes that the top civilian leadership of our country planned and carried out an aggressive war against a people who did not and could not hurt the United States. Under precedents established by the United States and imposed upon other countries, this pattern of conduct constitutes a war crime. Despite the frequent insistence among those who have held positions in the national security bureaucracy that all talk of war crimes committed by high officials is a form of 'witch hunt' or 'McCarthyism of the left,' that diversionary tactic is a poor defense. The enactment and enforcement of laws against war crimes can **hardly** be construed as McCarthyism. We believe that those who have brought dishonor to the American people by planning and executing an aggressive war must be publicly identified and barred, at least for a decade, from holding positions of public trust. Only if the American people confront the crimes that have been committed in their name and those responsible for them will it be possible to make a break with a collective past that has scarred each one of us."

[redacted]  
[redacted] letter to the Editor, dated August 1, 1965, which appeared in the August 9, 1965, edition of the New York Times newspaper. The letter protested United States intervention in the Dominican Republic and was generally critical of United States Foreign Policy towards Latin America.

[redacted]

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The August 18, 1971, edition of "The Washington Post" newspaper, WDC, contained an article on page A-1 captioned "Sen. GRAVEL to Publish War Papers," by KEN W. CLAWSON, Staff Writer. The article related that United States Senator MIKE GRAVEL of Alaska turned over documents from the Pentagon Study of the Vietnam War to Beacon Press, a Boston publisher, for compilation into a four volume book to be released in late October, 1971, in paperback and hard cover editions. The book was reported to be entitled "The Senator GRAVEL Edition of the Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of Decision Making on Vietnam."

The article in part noted that Beacon Press agreed to publish Senator GRAVEL's copies of the documents following negotiations with Dr. LEONARD S. RODBERG, former University of Maryland Physicist and a Fellow at IPS, and after five other publishers had turned RODBERG down. RODBERG was reported to have indicated that five New York publishing houses and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Press in Cambridge, Massachusetts, had turned down offers to publish the documents before Beacon Press agreed to do so. RODBERG was reported to have stated the New York publishing house of Simon and Shuster had been prepared to publish the documents supplied to GRAVEL "by an as yet unidentified source" until the Bantam Book publication of the papers went on the market in July, 1971. RODBERG reportedly indicated the major publishing houses turned down the material on the grounds that it was a losing commercial venture.

The article related that RODBERG's involvement with Senator GRAVEL stemmed from the Senator's June 29, 1971, speech before the United States Senate in which he read parts of the documents and placed about four thousand pages into the record of his Public Works Subcommittee.

The September 13, 1971, edition of "Diamondback," the University of Maryland student newspaper, carried a front page article captioned "Former MU Prof RODBERG Challenges Subpoena in Pentagon Papers Case," which set

forth an interview by student reporter MIKE CRIM with RODBERG. The article described RODBERG as a member of the personal staff of Senator MIKE GRAVEL, who was subpoenaed to testify before a Boston Grand Jury investigating possible violations of the Federal Espionage Act. RODBERG, in the telephone interview, reportedly said he was willing to go to jail if necessary to keep from testifying. RODBERG was reported to have said he would not testify even if the motion of his lawyers to quash the subpoena was denied, because to testify would entail a breach of confidence between Senator GRAVEL and himself.

RODBERG reportedly also indicated a four volume paperback edition of the study on the beginnings of the Vietnam War titled "The Senator GRAVEL Edition of the Pentagon Papers" would be published by the Beacon Press in Boston the following month and would be two thousand nine hundred fifty-two pages in length.

RODBERG described in the article as a member of IPS and a part-time professor at the University of Maryland, reportedly said he knew of the Pentagon Papers but did not have access to them before their release by the press.

An article captioned "Legal Obstacle Blocking Boston Grand Jury in Its Investigation of the Release of Pentagon Papers," by ROBERT REINHOLD, which appeared in the November 1, 1971, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper, reported that among others, RALPH L. STAVINS, LEONARD S. RODBERG, and RICHARD FALK, had been subpoenaed to testify before a Federal Grand Jury in Boston looking into the unauthorized distribution and publication of the Pentagon Papers.

An article entitled "Court Permits U. S. to Resume Limited Quiz on Pentagon Papers," by SANFORD J. UNGAR, which appeared in the November 30, 1971, edition of "The Washington Post" newspaper, noted in part that a federal appeals court in Boston had ruled that Dr. LEONARD S. RODBERG, described

WFO 100-46784

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as a staff aide to Senator MIKE GRAVEL of Alaska, could not be subpoenaed "until further order of this court." The article also reported the ruling "banned the Grand Jury from questioning any other witness 'concerning the acquisition, use, publication or republication of the Pentagon Papers' by GRAVEL or members of his staff."

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20535

December 17, 1971

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Title	INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C.
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT
Reference	Report of SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span> dated and captioned as above.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Dalbey

DATE: 12/13/71

FROM : R. L. Shackelford

- 1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan

- 1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NEW LEFT

- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. F. B. Griffith

PURPOSE: DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]  
ON 5/7/81

To recommend telephone toll records of IPS be recorded by Automatic Data Processing (ADP) so an effective printout depicting telephone contacts of captioned organization can be developed for analysis, intelligence value, and possible connection with individuals involved in other investigations such as MC LEK, MEDBURG and EASTCON.

## BACKGROUND:

Memorandum dated 7/8/71, captioned as above, noted IPS has been characterized as the think factory of the New Left which helps train extremists who incite violence and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. In January, 1971, the Director approved an expansion of this investigation beyond contacts with established sources.

IPS has apparently had access to the "Pentagon Papers" as evidenced by a book authored by individuals connected with IPS called "Washington Plans an Aggressive War," which quoted portions of the Vietnam Task Force Study. IPS principals have also had contact with [redacted] as well as individuals responsible for distribution of copies of documents stolen in the burglary of the Media, Pennsylvania, Resident Agency. Members of IPS additionally appear to be aligned ideologically with individuals involved in the EASTCON conspiracy investigation.

The toll records of IPS, which were obtained by issuance of a subpoena in connection with the MC LEK investigation, cover a period of six months during which approximately 5,000 telephone toll calls were made. These and additional toll

100-447935

REC-110

CONTINUED - OVER

DEC 27 1971

WGD:jlm  
(10)

LETTER TO WFO 1/11/72  
INSTRUCTED TOLL RECORDS  
BE SENT ATT: VOUCHER-SAT  
WGD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

5/30/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 12/13/94

RECEIVED  
DEC 13 10 56 AM '71

REC'D-CALLAHAN  
FBI

REC'D-MOHR  
FBI

VOUCHER-STATISTICS  
SECTION

DEC 14 10 56 AM '71

DEC 13 3 08 PM '71

DEC 14 9 16 AM '71

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.  
IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.

DEC 16 10 56 AM '71

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

SSC

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

HSC

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. ✓

DATE 11/14/6

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

DEC 13 10 56 AM '71

RECEIVED

JAN 3 6 29 PM '72

DOM INTELL DIV.

DEC 16 12 11 PM '71

REC'D E.S. MILLER  
FBI-JUSTICE

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C.  
100-447935

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

records as they are received will be submitted to the Voucher-Statistical Section, Administrative Division, for recording by ADP. This has been discussed with representatives of the Voucher-Statistical Section and they have indicated this can be done. The estimated initial cost of this project is approximately \$2,000. The printout will show telephone contacts between IPS and individuals involved in MC LEK, MEDBURG, and possibly EASTCON investigations. Additionally, substantial Agent time in analyzing toll call records will be saved as the project can be accomplished faster by ADP than manually. If approved, it is requested that Voucher-Statistical Section coordinate this with Supervisor [redacted] extension 3702, who will furnish results of toll check as received for input in ADP. & u

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RECOMMENDATION:

That this be referred to the Administrative Division with approval to take the action outlined above.

DBW JAS/RS

EM/s

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SAC, WFO (100-46784)

1/11/72

Director, FBI (100-447935)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS - NEW LEFT

Approval has been obtained to record by Automatic Data Processing (ADP) telephone toll records of IPS in order to develop an effective printout of telephone contacts for analysis, intelligence value, and possible connection with individuals involved in other investigations. *RU*

In this connection you are instructed to submit, Attention: Voucher-Statistical Section, an original and two copies of the cover communication and four Xerox copies of telephone toll records of IPS which were obtained by subpoena in connection with the Mc Lek investigation. *RU*

Do not obtain any additional telephone toll records of captioned organization at this time.

WGD:dan/jta (4)

NOTE:

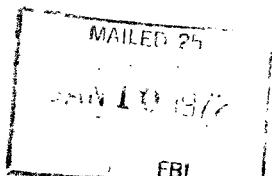
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF *Class.*  
DATE *7-15-80*

Memorandum, 12/13/71, R.L. Shackelford to Mr. E.S. Miller, recommended telephone toll records of IPS be recorded by ADP. This was approved and WFO is being instructed to submit necessary items. *RU*

DECLASSIFIED BY    
ON *5/7/81*

*5/20/80*  
CLASS. & EXT. BY    
REASON FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 *2*  
DATE OF REVIEW *11/11/92*

b6  
b7C



FBI

REC-104  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

JAN 11 1972

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Waikart \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*116D*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC HSC  
ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW. FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 1/3/72

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Miller, LS	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Bates	_____
Mr. Whitely	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss b6	_____
Miss b7C	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS-NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

On 12/28/71 [redacted] advised that during a  
conversation with IPS functionaries KARL HESS III and [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (u)

Above submitted for information of the Bureau. (u)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF declass.  
DATE 7-15-80

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]

DATE 2/24/78

PSP/B-S 924D

ICC PC 924D

② Bureau  
2- WFO

(1- 100-55096) (STAVINS)

JAV:sas  
(4)

REC-35

Declass withheld  
5/20/80 [redacted]

b6  
b7C 13 1972

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 1/18/72

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS-NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

ReBulet, 12/16/71, directing WFO to submit public source information concerning captioned organization in order for same to be furnished to the House Committee on Internal Security (HCIS).

Enclosed for the Bureau is the following public source material concerning IPS:

1 pamphlet entitled "Institute for Policy Studies, The First Three Years," published by IPS.

1 Xerox copy of an article entitled "Making Plans for a Dictatorship in America," by GARY ALLEN, which appeared in the April, 1971, edition of "American Opinion."

1 Xerox copy of an article entitled "How the Institute for Policy Studies Tries to Remain Existentially Pragmatic While Subverting the Establishment," by STEPHEN CLAPP, reprinted from an undated edition of the "Washingtonian" magazine.

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Radicals Hit Prisons," which appeared in the 11/26/71, edition of the Charleston, South Carolina, "News and Courier."

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Gravel Asks U. S. Judge If Jury Is Probing Him," which appeared in "The Evening Star" newspaper, Washington, D. C. (WDC), 8/28/71.

REC-11

100-447935-131

2-Bureau (Enc. 15)

1-WFO

JAV:scw

(3)

60 MAR 16 1972

16 JAN 18 1972

NEW

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



MAR 13 1972

REC'D  
DOM INTELL DIV.

JAN 20 3 43 PM '72

MAR 14 1972

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

<u>SSC</u>		<u>HSC</u> 62-116464-214	
ACC. _____	DATE _____	ACC. _____	DATE _____
DEL. _____	DATE _____	DEL. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DATE 11/14/75

MISC.: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT, AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

WFO 100-46784

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Sen. Gravel to Publish War Papers," which appeared in The Washington Post" newspaper, WDC, 8/18/71.

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Was Computer Wrong on War?" which appeared in "The Washington Post" newspaper, WDC, 7/19/71.

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Pentagon Watch," which appeared in "The Washington Post" newspaper, 10/11/69.

1 Xerox copy of an article, " 'Brainwashing' The State Dept.," which appeared in the Manchester "Union Leader," 2/22/71.

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Report Urges Revolution in Television Ownership," which appeared in "The Washington Post" newspaper, 10/12/69.

1 Xerox copy of an article, "The Thinking of Positive Power," by GARRY WILLIS, reprinted from March, 1971, "Esquire Magazine."

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Radical Think Tank, the Institute for Policy Studies Aims to Disarm the United States," which appeared in "Barron's" magazine, 10/6/69.

1 Xerox copy of an article, "Ivory-Tower Activists - IPS Fellows Lead the Radical Thrust for Social Change," which appeared in "Barron's" magazine, 10/13/69.

1 Xerox copy of an article, " 'New Left' Plans to Attack FCC On License Policy," which appeared in

WFO 100-46784

"The Evening Star" newspaper, WDC, May 16, 1969.

1 Xerox copy of an article, " 'Frustrated' Author," which appeared in "The Washington Post" newspaper, WDC, 1/7/69.

WFO presently unable to locate a suitable copy of the article from the 9/24/67, issue of "The Examiner" by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT entitled "The Washington Think Factory Trains Extremists." Copy of same will be submitted when available.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 12-20-2011

F B I

Date: 1/27/72

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
(ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-53301) (P)

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE, aka  
IS - NEW LEFT (ECCSL)  
(OO:NY)

Enclosed are seven copies for the Bureau, and copies as indicated for recipient offices, of an LHM concerning projected activities of The Harrisburg Defense Committee (HDC).

The LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" because it denotes information furnished by confidential sources of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could prove prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.

- 4-Bureau (Enc. 7) 0  
(1-100-447935) (IPS)  
(1-100-460495) (EASTCON DEMONSTRATIONS)
- 1-Albany (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-Baltimore (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-Boston (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-Buffalo (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-Chicago (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-Cleveland (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-Milwaukee (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-New Haven (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 1-Newark (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 2-New York (Enc. 2)
  - 1-Philadelphia (Enc. 4)
  - (2-100-51190 Sub L) (EASTCON DEMONSTRATIONS)
  - 1-Pittsburgh (Info) (Enc. 1)
  - 6-WFO

(1-100-52299 Sub E) (EASTCON DEMONSTRATIONS)  
(1-100-46784) (IPS)

7/16/75 D-7 to WFO, other offices  
Re WFO airtel & LHM, 1/27/72.  
Declassify LHM.

b3  
b7D  
b7E

58 FEB 15 1972

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE

6/30/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON-FCIM II,  
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170 FEB 8 1972

CARBON COPY

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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WFO 100-53301

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The first source mentioned in the LHM is [redacted] who was contacted by SA [redacted] on 1/21/72, and SAs [redacted] on 1/26/72. ~~C~~

The second source is [redacted] who was contacted by SA [redacted] on 1/26/72. ~~C~~

The third source is [redacted] who was contacted by SA [redacted] on 1/21/72. ~~C~~ u

Concerning [redacted] (LNU) mentioned in the LHM as the individual at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) typing FDC flyer, she is probably identical to [redacted]

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WFO will continue to follow through established sources.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535  
January 27, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 01-28-2011

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE (HDC)

The HDC, formerly known as Washington's Birthday Defense Committee, The Defense Committee, publicly solicits funds and support for the defense of the "Harrisburg 8" conspiracy trial in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

On January 21 and 26, 1972, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a meeting was held on January 12, 1972, at [REDACTED] (WDC), between individuals connected with the HDC and leaders of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., WDC. This meeting was held at the request of the HDC to involve IPS in the planning and strategy of a series of demonstrations, seminars and public meetings to be held in Harrisburg for the duration of the trial. In making this request of IPS, it was the stated objective of HDC to openly maintain a non-political stance with regard to the public and the news media, but at the same time to covertly set up a program which would insure nationwide favorable support for the "Harrisburg 8" during the period of their trial. With approval of the defendants, the HDC wanted to arrange such support without being identified with any activities which might prove to be detrimental to the trial defense. All actions in this regard would be subject to the specific step-by-step approval of the defendants in order to maintain an image of moral motivation in their actions. IPS was requested to utilize its resources and staff personnel in this regard. (U)

The IPS has been characterized in an article by Edith Kermit Roosevelt, appearing on page 22, of the September 24, 1967, edition of a former WDC weekly newspaper, "The Examiner". She stated in part that IPS is a Washington-based "Think Factory" which helped train extremists who incite violence in United

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
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SLIP (S) OF  
DATE

Attachments - 3

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downgrading and declassification

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100-447935

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REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW  
1/27/92  
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classified  
7/10/70  
by 8342

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE (HDC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

States cities and whose educational research serves as a cover for intrigue and political agitation. Through its conferences and seminars, the IPS asserts a continuing influence on the ideology and tactics of the New Left.

The IPS is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education and social invention on public policy problems.

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[redacted]  
publicly identified anti-draft War Resisters League, New York City, came from Harrisburg to explain to the IPS people the tentative plans that had been worked out by the HDC. [redacted]

[redacted]  
emphasized at the outset of the meeting that HDC desired to maintain an outward apolitical position, while functioning in an administrative capacity in support of the defendants. &u

The IPS responded to the request in the form of a written proposal [redacted]

[redacted] The IPS response was as follows:

"Notes for NATIONAL CITIZENS UNIVERSITY

"I would suggest that we name some 35 people on a so-called National Citizens University faculty. Each person on the list would agree to spend several days in Harrisburg giving lectures and seminars. The discussion should be wide-ranging and include the political economy, the State, the status of America as a colonial society, the development of new forms of living in the society, the development of new forms of science, new forms of art, the development of a responsible judiciary and laws to hold personally liable government officials. Members of the faculty would also include artists, composers and rock singers. I would hope to lay out a series of 50 topics that would be talked about not only of interest to the Left but also &u

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THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE (HDC)

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the sort of new facts that journalists would pick up at these meetings and write other sorts of stories about. For example-- that a large percentage of the people on a nuclear sub crew are stoned or that the poor people pay more in taxation than they get in benefits from the government. What we need to do is to develop a large number of stories and ideas both related directly to the Harrisburg trial and unrelated, which give a different perspective on American society. There is no reason why this couldn't include the latest researches in science, law, linguistics or whatever. (No Par.) Needless to say, there would be a special section on Prisons. 84

"As I have suggested before, the responsibility for particular weeks would be divided among geographic regions. I would propose that we follow the geographic regions of the National Student Association and that students and professors in each of those areas now be mobilized to prepare memoranda on what they would do for their particular week. I would propose also that the NSA would take the leadership role in pulling parts together, since they both have the contacts and legitimacy of the universities, the students and the faculty. I would propose that to the extent possible we lay out a faculty, student and worker board. The workers would be perhaps union leaders or workers that are involved in either peace activity or campus activity. 84

"I would propose that the Citizens University put out, by the end of three weeks, a brochure which would state the courses to be given, the people involved and the times they would be there. This information should be taken to the NET media and the networks for the purpose of getting them to attend particular sessions of interests to them and us on a regular basis. 84

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE (HDC)

"To the extent possible, artists, musicians and rock groups should be included and records should be made, paintings sold, etc. for the Harrisburg fund and for the continuation of the NCU. CU

"I would also propose that each NSA region work to have a certain number of people come to Harrisburg during their week. They might even work for a closing of their school. It would really mean the moving of the school to Harrisburg if they were able to involve the faculty in these arrangements. I think that in all which is done the framework should be set by the defendants in this case. However, I do not think that what would be proposed here would get in the way of developing a solid legal strategy for the defendants." CU

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Among others who attended the meeting on January 12,

1972.

CU

[redacted] admitted member and official of the Communist Party (CP) from 1943 to 1949, identified [redacted] as a current member of the CP on March 22, 1946.

In a press release dated March 1, 1971, PCPJ described itself as being headquartered in WDC, and consisting of over 100 organizations which are using massive non-violent civil disobedience to combat racism, poverty, repression and war.

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE (HDC)

NWRO is an organization of welfare recipients, based in WDC, whose purpose is lobbying for liberalized welfare rights.

Source advised that concept of a National Citizens University (NCU) was discussed, but the name, NCU, was thought to sound too academic so a tentative name was discussed, "Crossroads - A Citizens Look at America in Transition". *CU*

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*[redacted]* advised the group that a Day to Day Committee has been formed to oversee activities in Harrisburg. *[redacted]* stated he had been provided a list of the prosecution's witnesses by one of the defense lawyers. The "Harrisburg Independent Press" newspaper, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, will run supplements about the trial to be supplied by *[redacted]* *CU*

In discussing the day to day activities at Harrisburg, *[redacted]* stated that the trial is expected to last for at least eight weeks. Therefore, plans should be made for at least eight demonstrations, displays and panels to be held in Harrisburg. At the same time, regional committees throughout the Northeast United States will be holding similar seminars and activities which will culminate in a Pilgrimage to Harrisburg, on or about April 2 or 3, 1972. These series of pilgrimages will be organized by *[redacted]* (phonetic). *CU*

It was stated *[redacted]*  
*[redacted]*  
*[redacted]* *CU*

Source advised that the meeting brought out plans for activities at Harrisburg to begin on Sunday afternoon, January 23, 1972, at the Dauphin County Jail where *[redacted]* will be held during the trial. A non-violent demonstration and speeches would be followed by an evening dinner at local churches, followed by an all night vigil at the jail. The next day, attempts would be made to pack the courtroom and put on a big show for the news media. *CU* (U)

The following tentative weekly schedule was discussed at the January 12 meeting:

48 Week 1:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Theme: The Religious Community versus the Illegality of the State with strong support from the local

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE (HDC)

Week 1: (cont.)

Harrisburg community; [redacted]  
and [redacted] to coordinate this  
activity.

Week 2:

Week of disciplined civil disobedience  
actions by the religious community.

Week 3:

Historical Perspective of National  
Repression. [redacted] to coordinate  
a panel of political defendants from  
the 1920's to the 1960's, in a  
discussion of their respective  
trials.

Weeks 4 and 5:

The Crisis of Imperialism, with topics  
on the Indo-China war, the Pentagon  
Papers, War Crimes, and other Libera-  
tion Movements. [redacted]  
coordinator.

Week 6:

Crisis at Home - Domestic Problems,  
with the focus on economic problems,  
which will include witnesses from  
NWRO, veterans organizations and  
unions. [redacted] to  
coordinate.

Week 7:

The Complicity of Institutions -  
Corporations, Churches, Unions and  
Universities.

Week 8:

The Pilgrimage arrives in Harrisburg. *ku*

*ku*  
[On January 26, 1972, a second source, who has furnished  
reliable information in the past, advised that the drafts of  
HDC flyers, prepared subsequent to the January 12, 1972, meeting,  
were typed by [redacted] (Last Name Unknown), [redacted]  
[redacted] Richard Barnett at IPS.

*ku*  
[On January 21, 1971, a third source, who has furnished  
reliable information in the past, furnished three flyers (six pages)  
received from the HDC through the mail. These flyers disclosed  
plans for a demonstration in Harrisburg on January 23, 1972,  
a series of weekly seminars in Harrisburg, commencing the week  
of January 31, 1972, and information about "The Pilgrimage,

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE (HDC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A Search for Free Communities of Conscience".

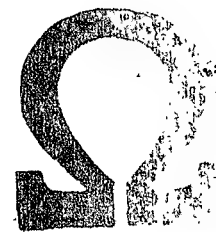
The aforementioned flyers are attached.

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

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JANUARY 23, THE DAY BEFORE JURY SELECTION IN THE HARRISBURG  
CASE STARTS, WE INVITE YOU TO THE REAL INCEPTION OF THE  
HARRISBURG EVENTS, IT APPEARS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT THE COURTROOM  
WILL BE MOSTLY A FORUM FOR THE GOVERNMENT, FILLED WITH LEGALITIES  
AND NON-ISSUES. THE REAL ISSUES, THOSE THAT FORM THE LIVES OF  
RESISTANCE WE LIVE, CAN BE SPOKEN ONLY FROM OUTSIDE THE INSTITU-  
TIONS THAT DENY THEIR EXISTENCE. BEGINNING SUNDAY, WE HOPE TO  
SPEAK OF WAR AND INJUSTICE; THIS IS THE CONSPIRACY TO TURN THE  
TRIAL INSIDE OUT.



# THE JANUARY 23RD CONSPIRACY TO TURN THE TRIAL INSIDE OUT

INDICTMENT NO. 14951

## COUNT I

### THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

That on or about the date Sunday January 23, 1972 and the time  
3 PM in the AME Bethel Church ( 6th & Herr Streets ), middle  
district of Pennsylvania:

"the conspiracy to save lives"

defendants herein, willfully and knowingly conspired and agreed with  
each other, to commit the offense of turning the trial inside out. They  
chose to maliciously challenge the government case against the "Harrisburg  
Eight" and furthermore to turn public attention unto the crimes of the  
powerful thus building the growing community of resistance to war and  
oppression. For these ends the defendants chose to eat communally at  
the church, sign statements of complicity with the "Harrisburg Eight",  
listen to prominent religious and resistance personalities, and travel  
to the Dauphin County prison, trial residence of one of the "eight",  
for a vigil. Defendants also planned a Monday morning press conference,  
procession, and court house vigil

Harrisburg Defense Committee  
240 North Third Street  
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17101  
717 - 232 - 7531

WE ARE THE PEOPLE YOUR GOVERNMENT TURNS YOU ABOUT

# THE TRIAL of the HARRISBURG 8

JOIN US IN EXPLORING THE ISSUES OF THE TRIAL

- week of Jan. 31; Religious Conscience vs. the State  
Feb. 7; The Harrisburg Trial in Perspective  
an historical and pragmatic study of  
what conditions produce government  
repression on a national level.  
Feb. 21; Crisis of Imperialism  
Indochina - the first part will be  
devoted to what has been the dominant  
political fact of life for a decade.  
A representative selection of liberation  
movements will be studied in part two.  
March 13; Crisis at Home  
the domestic costs; unemployment, inflation,  
veterans' hospitals, various forms of  
victimization.  
March 27; Non-Governmental Complicity  
The role of American Institutions - churches,  
universities, corporations, unions.  
April 4; Round-up - a compilation of documents, research,  
and exhibits with a summary of findings.

JOIN US IN THIS STUDY OF AMERICA AT THE CROSSROADS

PARTICIPATE IN THE 'PILGRIMAGE FOR FREEDOM' WHEN IT COMES TO YOUR AREA

THE HARRISBURG DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
240 N. Third St.  
Harrisburg, Pa. 17101  
717/232-7531

# THE PILGRIMAGE

## A SEARCH FOR FREE COMMUNITIES OF CONSCIENCE

When is resistance a mature response to the systems and powers that claim our lives? And when does it become a petulant form of egoism? A hard line to draw--let alone how to.

Father Daniel Berrigan  
Letter from three jails

This is the question which we must raise throughout the country. We must be able to show that resistance is a real answer to powers, both political and social, that rule our personal lives. This is our message; the pilgrimage must be our medium. We can reach many thousands of people on a personal basis if we are successful in our efforts.

What is resistance and why should we resist?

We resist because we must; because in conscience we cannot give our consent to the violence being carried on in our name, because we cannot even be passive cooperators in the exploitive program of a racist, sexist, imperialist society.

Resistance means, first, the denial of authority to those who abuse it; second, the development of alternative methods of confronting our problems as persons and as a community. Resistance takes many forms-- free schools, people's funds, child care centers, direct action projects, tax resistance, draft resistance. Our main work is not to define resistance but to create it.

### WHY A PILGRIMAGE?

The Pilgrimage gives a chance to begin building a national community of conscience, dedicated to change, to peace, freedom and justice.

Traditionally a pilgrimage has been a group of people embarking on a journey to a place of hope and renewed promise for the future. In some cases, pilgrimages have traveled to religious shrines; in others, as in the case of the early pilgrims to America, the journey has been to a new land of promised hope.

The Pilgrimage to and from Harrisburg will also be a journey of recommitment and renewal. Participants will bring energy, ideas, vitality to be shared; they will return to their communities with new strength and confidence to confront war and injustice. Because the Harrisburg trial illuminates the conflict between religious conscience and the amoral use of state power, because of the timing of the Pilgrimage to coincide with the Lenten/Passover season, it will be possible to make use of the rich symbolism of the religious tradition.

### MECHANICS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PILGRIMAGE

The nation will be divided into a number of regions or areas that will try to develop a network of local community groups. A regional coordinator will be chosen for each area. The coordinator of each

region will be a resident of the area, so that he/she will have a personal interest in the local results as well as the national focus. The regional coordinator will be responsible for the formation of 40-Day Committees and a "core group" caravan that will travel throughout the area during the Lenten season. Ultimately, the regional person will be responsible for the organization of the Pilgrimage from the region to Harrisburg.

#### The Local 40- Day Committee.

The basic organizing unit for the Pilgrimage will be the 40-Day Committee. Each group will relate to those issues that are important within its own local area. Several actions and activities should be planned focusing local concern on those problems. It will not be difficult to show that the issues raised by the Harrisburg trial relate closely to local problems; despite local differences, a national pattern exists.

An attempt should be made by each local group to develop alternatives to the institutions that are causing the problems. On-going projects should be instituted that can bring about real change in the make-up of each local community. Finally, it is hoped that some members of the local committee will come with friends on the final days of the Pilgrimage and arrive with the caravans in Harrisburg. It should be noted that the theme of "No business as usual" should be applied to people who would hide behind local concerns in the latter effort.

#### Core Group Caravans

In each region, groups of people will travel throughout the area during the Lenten season. These people will serve a dual function. First they will serve as itinerant organizers, putting together organizations where there are none, helping local existing groups to expand and to form temporary or permanent coalitions with other groups. Secondly, the organizers will serve as information resources. Each caravan will have people well versed in many different problems confronting the nation and society. The caravans can be supplemented by the addition of experts in certain fields, defendants, and other speakers as requested by the local communities. It should be noted that the travel of the defendants will be limited by their courtroom requirements.

#### National Staff

In Harrisburg, there will be a group of people working in the national office whose sole function will be to service the local communities and regions and to develop a program of activities in the Harrisburg metropolitan area.

#### TENTATIVE CALENDAR

January 14

National Meeting in Philadelphia

January 17 - 21

Regional meetings

National Press Conference in H'Burg

February 15  
February 16

Mardi Gras Celebrations  
Caravans start

March 26  
March 27 - April 1  
April 2  
April 3 - 6

Palm Sunday - Entry into H'burg  
Actions and Activities in H'burg  
Easter Sunday  
Passover - Travel home - relating  
experience to others.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

There will undoubtedly be additions to the National Calendar in terms of actions and activities relating to the Pilgrimage being held in Harrisburg.

#### ISSUES THAT MIGHT BE DEVELOPED

1. Criminal Justice
  - A. Conspiracy Laws
  - B. Grand Juries
  - C. Prisons
  - D. Other political cases - Angela Davis, Ellsberg, Feliciano
2. War
  - A. The Air War
  - B. War technology being used at home
  - C. The Draft
3. Repression - Governmental and Social
  - A. Women's Struggle
  - B. Men
  - C. Racism
  - D. Political Repression
4. Miscellaneous
  - A. Corporate role in society
  - B. Unemployment
  - C. Welfare
  - D. The Environment

#### ALTERNATIVES THAT MIGHT BE DEVELOPED AS ON-GOING PROJECTS

1. Free Schools
2. Tax Resistance - People's Funds
3. Vocations for Social Change
4. Alternative Communities
5. Economic alternatives - food co-ops, gas station co-ops
6. Non-violent action training

#### ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES THAT MIGHT BE DEVELOPED BY LOCAL GROUPS

1. resistance fairs - to focus on alternative life styles and  
and the reasons for them.
2. Teach-ins and discussion groups
3. Town Meetings
4. Draft Board visits
5. Vigils and Prayer Services
6. Liturgies
7. Non-Violent Direct Action

More on-going projects might be:

8. Formation of child-care centers
9. Anti-corporation organizing - i.e. Honeywell project

and many more.

## RESISTANCE

The central theme of the whole pilgrimage will be resistance, in all its many forms and levels. This, in itself might be a good issue to develop the consciousness level in each individual community.

Forums on why we resist and what are we resisting might very well take some of the bad connotations of the word and make it a more positive alternative to many people. If we can increase the number of people who are willing to consider their role in society and start to look for ways of ending their part, we might be making a very positive step towards a role-less society where freedom and justice for all is more than just a phrase.

## Special Note

It is extremely important that each local committee keep each regional coordinator completely aware of the actions and activities being carried on in the local community. Each regional coordinator then must keep the national people cognizant of all things happening in the area. Through development of such an information-sharing network, we can exchange good ideas, cull out bad ones. We will also be able to develop proper media coverage at all levels from such information.

1/12/72

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] (ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)  
FROM: SAC, WFO [REDACTED] (P)

b3  
b7E

MC LEX  
SIO  
(OO:LA)

Enclosed are seven copies for the Bureau, one to Boston, two to Los Angeles, and one to New York, of an LHM, dated as above and captioned [REDACTED] "ESPIONAGE - X", which sets forth pertinent telephone calls from subpoenaed toll records of Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), WDC, that may have possible significance to captioned matter.

b6  
b7C

The LHM is classified "Confidential" because the unauthorized disclosure of information denoted therein could prove prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.

Departmental attorney who made available subpoenaed records of telephone toll calls charged to the account of IPS is [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/2/90 BY [REDACTED]

- 3 - Bureau (Enc 7)  
(1 - 100-447935)(IPS)  
1 - Boston [REDACTED] (Enc 1)(Info)  
2 - Los Angeles [REDACTED] (Enc 2)  
1 - New York [REDACTED] (Enc 1)(Info)  
2 - WFO  
(1 - 100-46784)(IPS)

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JAV:vos  
(9)

100-447935  
NOT RECORDED  
12 JAN 19 1972

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]

100-447935



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Washington, D.C. 20535  
January 12, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 12-20-2011

[REDACTED]  
ESPIONAGE - X

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On June 13, 1971, "The New York Times" newspaper began publication of a series of articles based on "Top Secret" documents commonly referred to as the "Mc Namara Study" or "Pentagon Papers." [REDACTED]

In connection with investigation of the theft and unauthorized disclosure of these documents, a United States Department of Justice Attorney made available records of long distance telephone calls charged to the account of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), 1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), which records were obtained from the Chesapeake and Potomac (C&P) Telephone Company, WDC, in response to a subpoena duces tecum issued at Boston, Massachusetts, on August 27, 1971.

The IPS has been publicly described as the "think tank" of the New Left and is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education, and social invention on public policy problems.

These calls denoted herein, which were included in the subpoenaed telephone toll records of IPS, may have possible significance to captioned matter.

February 25, 1971, 1 minute, to [REDACTED] from 202-234-0183  
June 30, 1971, 6 minutes, to [REDACTED] from 202-234-0621

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE PC/ptc  
*declassification*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification.

ENCLOSURE

*declass  
upheld  
5/21/80  
11/14/77*



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[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose telephone numbers 202-234-0183 and 202-234-0621 are listed to IPS.

June 29, 1971, 6 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-1423

The "Boston Globe" newspaper published articles allegedly based on the "Pentagon Papers" in editions dated June 16, 1971, June 22, 1971, June 23, 1971, and July 1, 1971.

May 5, 1971, 8 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9389  
May 6, 1971, 38 minutes, to [redacted] from 301-622 (number incomplete, located Silver Spring, Maryland)  
June 8, 1971, 21 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9390  
July 8, 1971, 8 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9390

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[redacted]  
[redacted] Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose telephone numbers 202-234-9389 and 202-234-9390 are listed to IPS.

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[redacted]  
February 23, 1971, 8 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-0183  
February 22, 1971, 1 minute, to [redacted] from 202-234-9359  
March 18, 1971, 6 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9389  
March 31, 1971, 17 minutes, to 202-234-9382, from [redacted]  
March 29, 1971, 8 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-1423  
March 29, 1971, 2 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-1423  
March 29, 1971, 3 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-1423  
April 19, 1971, 8 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9389  
March 25, 1971, 18 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9390

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[redacted]  
[redacted] Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose  
telephone numbers 202-234-0183, 202-234-9389, 202-234-9382,  
202-234-1423 and 202-234-9390 are all listed to IPS.

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June 21, 1971, 2 minutes, to [redacted] from 212-586 (number  
incomplete)  
June 21, 1971, 3 minutes, to [redacted] from 212-586 (number  
incomplete)  
June 21, 1971, 9 minutes, to [redacted] from 212-661 (number  
incomplete)

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Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose  
telephone number [redacted] is listed to [redacted]

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The "Los Angeles Times" newspaper published articles  
allegedly based on the "Pentagon Papers" in editions dated  
June 24, 1971, June 26, 1971, and July 10, 1971. The 1971  
"Congressional Directory, 92nd Congress, First Session", denotes  
Murray Seeger as a reporter for the "Los Angeles Times" newspaper.

July 30, 1971, 8 minutes, to 202-298-8686, from 617-354 (number  
incomplete)

Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose  
telephone number 202-298-8686 is listed to Clifford, Warnke,  
Glass, McIlwain, and Finney, Lawyers, 12th Floor, Room 1206,  
815 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., WDC. The subscriber to telephone  
number 617-354 (number incomplete) is located in Cambridge,  
Massachusetts.

It is noted that [redacted]  
of the above-mentioned law firm are former high ranking of

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[redacted]  
of the Department of Defense during the period of compilation  
of the "Pentagon Papers."

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June 12, 1971, 2 minutes, to 212-586-7000 from [redacted]  
June 16, 1971, 3 minutes, to [redacted] from 212-586-7000

Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose  
that telephone number [redacted] is listed to [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
It is noted that numerous articles appearing in  
daily newspapers reported that "The New York Times" personnel  
utilized a suite of rooms in the Hilton Hotel, New York City,  
during the period April 22, 1971 - July, 1971, in connection  
with preparation of information contained in the "Pentagon  
Papers" for publication.

August 6, 1971, 3 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9390
June 15, 1971, 10 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0183
March 1, 1971, 3 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0815
March 19, 1971, 10 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9389
June 10, 1971, 1 minute, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0815
June 10, 1971, 1 minute, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0815
June 28, 1971, 4 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0183
June 23, 1971, 8 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9390
March 16, 1971, 1 minute, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0183
July 15, 1971, 2 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 703-536 (number
incomplete)	[redacted]	
June 9, 1971, 1 minute, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9389
July 30, 1971, 2 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0815
May 6, 1971, 4 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0815
July 23, 1971, 7 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0815
July 20, 1971, 2 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-0815
June 30, 1971, 6 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9389

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Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose  
telephone numbers 202-234-9390, 202-234-0183, 202-234-0815,  
and 202-234-9389 are listed to IPS [redacted]

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[redacted] ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[redacted]  
June 5, 1971, 1 minute, to [redacted] from 703-356 (number incomplete)

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[redacted] Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose the subscriber to telephone number 703-356 (number incomplete) is located in McLean, Virginia.

It is noted that previous investigation in this matter determined [redacted] according to records of the C&P Telephone Company [redacted]

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[redacted]  
July 16, 1971, 19 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-0815

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[redacted]  
Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose telephone number 202-234-0815 is listed to IPS.

June 10, 1971, 4 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9390

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[redacted]  
Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose telephone number 202-234-9390 is listed to IPS.

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August 3, 1971, 4 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9389
August 5, 1971, 3 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-2461
July 23, 1971, 7 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-5595
July 28, 1971, 4 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9389
July 29, 1971, 5 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9753
August 19, 1971, 2 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9753
July 19, 1971, 2 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-543-0400
July 19, 1971, 8 minutes, to	[redacted]	from 202-234-9389

Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose telephone numbers 202-234-9389, 202-234-2461, and 202-234-5595 are listed to IPS; telephone number 202-234-9753 is listed to the Dupont Plaza Hotel, 1500 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., WDC; and telephone number 202-543-0400 is listed to the American Business Committee on National Priorities, 201 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., WDC.

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It is noted that a four volume paperback edition of the book, "The Senator Gravel Edition, The Pentagon Papers, The Defense Department History of United States Decisionmaking on Vietnam", was published by Beacon Press under the auspices of the Unitarian Universalist Association in October, 1971, and carries an introduction by United States Senator Mike Gravel.

July 21, 1971, 5 minutes, to [redacted] from 617-567 (number incomplete)

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Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose telephone number [redacted] is listed to [redacted] and the subscriber to telephone number 617-567 (number incomplete) is located in Boston, Massachusetts.

July 30, 1971, 4 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9390  
August 6, 1971, 2 minutes, to [redacted] from 202-234-9390  
August 9, 1971, 1 minute, to [redacted] from 202-234-9390

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Records of the C&P Telephone Company, WDC, disclose  
telephone number 202-234-9390 is listed to IPS. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

should not be made public except in a usual proceeding following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)  
DATE 12-20-2011

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

1/19/72

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF

~~SECRET~~

AIRTEL

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

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DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE  
DIVISION

MC LEX  
SIO  
(OO: LA)

Re Boston teletype to Bureau, 1/17/72, wherein it was  
noted that [redacted] of Institute for Policy  
Studies (IPS), while addressing the court re quashing  
subpoena, stated he had an affidavit from [redacted]

b3  
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Enclosed for the Bureau are seven copies of an LHM,  
dated as above and captioned, "INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES,  
1520 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.," setting  
forth review of the WFO file on IPS that fails to substantiate  
claim of [redacted]

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and which the Bureau may wish to disseminate to the  
Department. One copy of the LHM enclosed for Boston, two  
copies for Los Angeles, and one copy for New York.

Also enclosed for the Bureau are one copy each of the  
following communications in WFO file 100-46784 (IPS), which  
denote investigative contributions of [redacted]  
to that case:

- 3 - Bureau (21 Encls)
  - (1 - 100-447935) (IPS)
- 1 - Boston [redacted] (1 Enc) (Info)
- 2 - Los Angeles [redacted] (2 Encls)
- 1 - New York [redacted] (1 Enc) (Info)
- 2 - WFO
  - (1 - 100-46784) (IPS)

5/23/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 1/19/92

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NOT RECORDED  
42 JAN 25 1972

JAV:teb  
(9)

ENCLOSURE

54 JAN 28 1972

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 1/19/72

WFO [ ]

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Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 1/3/68,  
captioned, [ ] " with attached informant report.

Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 4/18/68,  
captioned, "WASH. MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE, IS - INFO CONCERNING,"  
with attached informant report.

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WFO letter to New York, 8/30/68, captioned, "STUDENTS  
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - SDS."

Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 9/26/68,  
captioned, "NINTH WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL (IX WYF), SOFIA, BULGARIA,  
JULY 29 - AUGUST 2, 1968, AKA IS - C (OO: NY) " with attached

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[ ]

Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 4/1/69, captioned  
[ ] with attached informant report.

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Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 5/7/69, captioned  
"STOKELY CARMICHAEL," with attached informant report.

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Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 6/4/69, captioned,  
[ ] with attached informant report.

WFO airtel and LHM to Bureau, 6/13/69, both captioned  
"THIRD WORLD CONFERENCE, ALGIERS, ALGERIA, SUMMER 1969, IS -  
MISCELLANEOUS," DICTATED BY [ ]

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Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 6/26/69, captioned  
[ ] with attached informant report.

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Memo of [ ] to SAC, WFO, 7/23/69, captioned  
"THIRD WORLD CONFERENCE, ALGIERS, ALGERIA, SUMMER, 1969, IS -  
MISC."

WFO airtel and LHM to Bureau, 7/30/69, both captioned,  
"THIRD WORLD CONFERENCE. ALGIERS, ALGERIA, SUMMER, 1969, IS - MISC.  
dictated by [ ]

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Memo of [ ] TO SAC, WFO, 8/9/68,  
captioned, "INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES," denoting contacts by  
WFO SAs, including [ ]

(4)

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WFO

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~~SECRET~~

Recipient offices are advised not to disseminate copies of enclosed LHM locally to United States Attorneys without specific approval of the Bureau.

For information of the Bureau, WFO case on IPS was opened as a dead file, 7/17/67, on Chicago airtel to Bureau, 7/13/67, captioned, "NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS, INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY) (OO: NEW YORK)," with enclosed LHM: opened for active investigation and assigned to SA  6/24/68; reassigned to SA  7/24/68; and reassigned to SA  5/28/71, the latter assignment continuing to date. The IPS file is in its 17th volume, with 1,043 serials as of 1/18/72. The above-described communications containing collateral investigation of interest to IPS are located in volumes one and four.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Washington, D. C. 20535  
January 19, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

**INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES**  
**1420 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has been publicly described as the "think tank" of the New Left and is self-described as a non-profit, non-taxable, independent center for research, education, and social invention on public policy problems. (u)

Concerning captioned organization, it is noted that an article appearing in the January 27, 1972, issue of The New York Review of Books entitled, "Special Agent for the FBI," by former FBI Special Agent Robert M. Wall, addressed itself in part to investigation of IPS. Part V of the article in part denotes the following: (u)

"There are hardly any limits on the bureau's activities in compiling political information, particularly about the new left. A case in point is the Institute for Policy Studies, an organization set up by dissenting officials in Kennedy's administration to carry on independent studies in international and domestic questions. The Institute caught my attention shortly after I began investigating the new left reports from FBI informants showing that many of the leaders and spokesmen of antiwar and civil rights organizations called at the Institute when they visited Washington. (u)

"I reasoned that if there were a conspiracy that linked all these groups the Institute was the logical place to look for it. I drafted a memo to that effect and requested that a case on the Institute be opened and assigned to me. My supervisor quickly agreed; he was then trying to increase the case load of the squad to justify a request for an increase in manpower. (u)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/23/80 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

ENCLOSURE

100-407180

**RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES**

"Most of the information about the Institute's work is easily available and I was soon able to accumulate a vast dossier on it including biographical sketches of its founders, sources of its financial support, a general idea of its day to day operation, and a pile of scholarly studies published by it. After analyzing this data I concluded that the Institute was not the secret mastermind of any conspiracy to overthrow the government but simply what I described in my report as a 'think tank of the Left,' where a wide variety of current and former government officials, lawyers, journalists, radicals, and others were holding seminars, doing research, writing reports, etc. I closed the investigation. To do otherwise, incidentally, would have meant a mound of paperwork that would have occupied me full time for months.

"About a year later another agent newly assigned to the squad came to see me with the closed file of the Institute and asked whether I thought the case ought to be reopened. This agent, like so many others, had strong right-wing views and could not believe that the Institute was merely sponsoring seminars and doing the other work I had described. It seemed necessary to him to think that a grand new left conspiracy existed. In spite of my opposition, he had the case reopened and began a full-scale investigation of the Institute. He began monitoring the checking account of the Institute to determine where its money was going. He asked for telephone company records and compiled a list of the Institute's long distance telephone calls. He attempted to place informants in the Institute as student interns and gathered every available paper published by it. Individual investigations were then opened on the people who worked for or received money from the Institute.

"When I left the bureau in April, 1970, the case on the Institute was still being investigated with gusto, and a huge collection of papers and reports on it had accumulated. So far as I have been able to determine, the FBI has found no evidence whatsoever of any illegal activity by the IPS, but the Institute continues to be investigated."

**RE: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES**

As pertains to the aforementioned article and the statements attributed to former Special Agent Robert Wall included therein, it is further noted that a review of the case file on captioned organization at the Washington Field Office, FBI, determined the case was not assigned to him at any time during his tenure as a Special Agent. This case file review failed to substantiate his claim of having recommended opening and subsequent closing of the case on IPS or the drafting of memoranda to that effect. The file does contain copies of memoranda prepared by Wall which primarily concern other matters but which are of collateral interest to the Institute for Policy Studies.

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

Routing Slip  
0-7 (Rev. 12-17-73)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC:

<input type="checkbox"/> Albany	<input type="checkbox"/> Houston
<input type="checkbox"/> Albuquerque	<input type="checkbox"/> Indianapolis
<input type="checkbox"/> Alexandria	<input type="checkbox"/> Jackson
<input type="checkbox"/> Anchorage	<input type="checkbox"/> Jacksonville
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Atlanta	<input type="checkbox"/> Kansas City
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Baltimore	<input type="checkbox"/> Knoxville
<input type="checkbox"/> Birmingham	<input type="checkbox"/> Las Vegas
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Boston	<input type="checkbox"/> Little Rock
<input type="checkbox"/> Buffalo	<input type="checkbox"/> Los Angeles
<input type="checkbox"/> Butte	<input type="checkbox"/> Louisville
<input type="checkbox"/> Charlotte	<input type="checkbox"/> Memphis
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Chicago	<input type="checkbox"/> Miami
<input type="checkbox"/> Cincinnati	<input type="checkbox"/> Milwaukee
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<input type="checkbox"/> Columbia	<input type="checkbox"/> Mobile
<input type="checkbox"/> Dallas	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Newark
<input type="checkbox"/> Denver	<input type="checkbox"/> New Haven
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Detroit	<input type="checkbox"/> New Orleans
<input type="checkbox"/> El Paso	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New York City
<input type="checkbox"/> Honolulu	<input type="checkbox"/> Norfolk

<input type="checkbox"/> Oklahoma City
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<input type="checkbox"/> Sacramento
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<input type="checkbox"/> Salt Lake City
<input type="checkbox"/> San Antonio
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<input type="checkbox"/> San Juan
<input type="checkbox"/> Savannah
<input type="checkbox"/> Seattle
<input type="checkbox"/> Springfield
<input type="checkbox"/> Tampa
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Washington Field
<input type="checkbox"/> Quantico

TO LEGAT:

<input type="checkbox"/> Beirut
<input type="checkbox"/> Bern
<input type="checkbox"/> Bonn
<input type="checkbox"/> Brasilia
<input type="checkbox"/> Buenos Aires
<input type="checkbox"/> Caracas
<input type="checkbox"/> Hong Kong
<input type="checkbox"/> London
<input type="checkbox"/> Madrid
<input type="checkbox"/> Manila
<input type="checkbox"/> Mexico City
<input type="checkbox"/> Ottawa
<input type="checkbox"/> Paris
<input type="checkbox"/> Rome
<input type="checkbox"/> Singapore
<input type="checkbox"/> Tel Aviv
<input type="checkbox"/> Tokyo

RE:

Date July 16, 1975

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C.  
IS-NEW LEFT

☐ For information ☐ Retention optional ☒ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.  
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

Re. WFO report, 12/<sup>17</sup>~~21~~/71.

Declassify report. WFO request recipient military agencies locally to do likewise.

Enc.  
Bufile  
Urfile

100-447935

LJB/tae

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_

File copy

b6  
b7C

**File copy**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447935)

DATE: 1/24/72

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46784) (P)

SUBJECT: INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS)  
IS - NEW LEFT  
(OO:WFO)

Re WFO letter, 1/18/72, enclosing copies of fifteen public source documents concerning captioned organization to be furnished to the House Committee on Internal Security (HCIS).

Enclosed for the Bureau are two xerox copies each of the following additional public source material concerning IPS:

Article entitled "Washington 'think factory' trains extremists", by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT, which appeared in the 9/21-24/67 edition of the "Examiner" newspaper.

Article entitled "Another view of 'think factory'", which appeared in the 9/28/67-10/1/67 edition of the "Examiner" newspaper.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/21/80 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

cc [redacted]  
(2) - Bureau (Enc. 4)  
1 - WFO

REC-58

JAV: sup  
(3)

10 JAN 24 1972



MAR 14 1972

ENCLOSURE SENT TO HOUSE COMMITTEE  
ON INTERNAL SECURITY 3/14/72  
WGD

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NEW LEFT

Date: 1/25/72

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Miller
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Dalbey
- Mr. Cleveland
- Mr. Ponder
- Mr. Bates
- Mr. Walkart
- Mr. Walters
- Mr. Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES  
IS - NEW LEFT  
NO: WFO

Bufile: 100-447935  
BUfile: 100-20859  
WFOfile: 100-46784

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Shapiro*  
[Redacted Box]

b6  
b7C

[Redacted Box]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/28/80 BY [Redacted]

b6  
b7C

For information of the Bureau and Buffalo.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[Large Redacted Block]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/9/77 BY [Redacted]

Bureau  
Buffalo  
FO  
mbf  
(8)

D.C.

16X XEROX

EX-104

FEB 8 1972

REC-6

FILE 100-447935

57 FEB 10 1972

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PERS. REC UNIT



2 FEB 1972

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JAN 26 10 20 PM 1972

EX 107

FEB

4 1972

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC ACC. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ HSC 62-116464-214  
DEL. \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
MISC. DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT. DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

DATE 2/5/72 BY 251 MK/bn  
HARRIS DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
VIA MAIL ROOM COLLECTED

PHOTO: 100-106670  
PHOTO: 100-106670  
PHOTO: 100-106670

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